



THE

HISTORY

OFTHE

REVOLUTIONS

That happened in the Government

OF THE

ROMAN REPUBLIC.

Written in French by the Abbot de Vertot, Author of the History of the Revolutions in Sweden and in Portugal.

English'd by Mr. Ozell and Others.

VOLUME the FIRST.

LONDON:

Printed for W. Taylor at the Ship in Pater-noster-row, J. Pemberton at the Buck in Fleet-street, and E. Symon in Cornhill. 1720.

HHT A TRUE T OITULE Wilder St. Walk of Man. DILLEU Advor de Ferrat, -ploying out to to kions in Species and in Preside. Pagista Ly Mi. Carl as Others. TERRIE OF THEST. STATE OF YOUR STREET Toward for W. I win a comment was a comment J. Pemberton as the Aset in Asset from, with At Agree in Co while Trace. 9 11 0

Advertisement.

SUCH as were pleas'd with the Revolutions of Sweden and Portugal, written by the Abbot de Vertot, will be glad to hear they have a far greater Satisfaction to come, in reading his Account of those that happened in the Roman Republick. As the Revolutions of any State are the most curious Parts of its History, so no Author, of whatever Age or Country, has bitherto handled that Subject in the masterly manner l'Abbé de Vertot has done; especially in this last Piece of his; wherein, as the Royal Academy of Inscriptions at Paris have publickly and justly pronounc'd of it, the Author has had the Skill to joyn all the Charms of Narration to a faithful Detail of Historical Facts.

The Reader's humble Servant,

JOHN OZELL.

Advortisement

SUCH as were pleas'd with the new volutions of Sweden and Pastagal, coniner by the Abbar de Vertot, will be glad to bear they have a for greater Sainfallion to come, in reading his Account of thisferthas have sened in the Roman Resulfich. As the Revolutions of any State and the mell curious Paris of its Reflows to no the **24** 0C 62 bitherio handled vais Subject in the mafterly manner PAbbé de Vertot has done; afpecially in this laft Pièce of his; wherein, as the Royal Academy of Inferioriens as Paris bave publickly and suffly pronounce of it, the Author -bas had the Skill to joyn all the Chinene of Warration 28 a Justiful Desail of Elistorical Ecclis

The Render's laundle Servane,

Јони Оквип



AN

Introductory Discourse.

The Foundation of the ROMAN Common-wealth, and the chief Causes of its Decay.

HE Love of Liberty was the first Motive that sway'd the Romans in the Establishment of the Republic, and the Cause or Pretence of those Revolutions we have undertaken to write the History of. It was this Love of Liberty that profcribed the Royalty, diminished the Authority of the Confulate, and fuspended the very Title of it upon feveral Occasions. The People themselves, to balance the Power of the Confuls, wou'd needs have particular Protectors drawn from their own Body; and these Plebeian Magistrates, under Pretence of guarding the Public Liberty, raised themselves by degrees

the

to be the Directors of the Laws, and Inspectors over the Senate and the No-

bility.

These State-Inquisitors kept in awe the Confuls themselves and the Generals. We shall find, in the Course of this History, that they often obliged them, when their Office was expired, to answer for their Administration, and the Success of their Arms, before the Assembly of the People. To conquer was not enough; the Glory of the greatest Victories could not shelter the General from their Enquiries, if he had not been fufficiently careful of the Life of his Soldiers, or during the Campaign had treated them too haughtily: They expected he should know how to join the Dignity of the Commander with the Modesty of the Citizen. Qualifications too shining were even suspicious, in a State where Equality was look'd upon as the Foundation of the public Liberty. The Romans were jealous of the Virtues they could not help admiring; and those fierce Republicans cou'd not bear even to be ferved with superior Talents, that might have the least Prospect of fubjecting them.

Those that were guilty of using unworthy Methods to gain the Consulate were for ever excluded from it. All Offices and Employments, except the Censorship, were only Annual. A Consul, at

the

the Expiration of his Consulate, retain'd no more Authority than what his personal Merit gave him: And after having commanded the Armies of the Republic in chief, he was often seen to serve in those very Armies under his Successor. He cou'd not enjoy the Consulate again, 'till after an Interval of Ten Years; and that great Dignity was hardly ever left too long in the same Family, for fear the Government might insensibly grow Hereditary.

r

r

r

y

r

e

e

7:

0

h

1-

n

n

-

ie

;;

t

1-

of

r-

re

25

r-

at

10

But of all the Precautions which the Romans used to preserve their Liberty, none is more worthy of Admiration, than that Adherence which they a long time kept to the Poverty of their Ancestors: That Poverty which, in the first Inhabitants of Rome, was meerly the Effect of Necessity, became a Political Virtue in The Romans thought their Successors. it the furest Guardian of Liberty; they found Ways to make it even honourable. that it might be a Bar against Luxury and Ambition. This Contempt of Riches in private Men grew to be a Maxim of Government: A Roman gloried in continuing in his Poverty, at the same time that he daily exposed his Life to encrease the public Treasure. Every Man thought himself fufficiently wealthy in the Riches of the State; and the Generals, as well as the common Soldiers, received their Subfistance only from their own little Inheritance, B 2

An Introductory Discourse.

iv

Plin.

which they cultivated with their own Hands: Gaudebat Tellus vomere Laureato.

The first Romans were all Husbandmen, and the Husbandmen were all Soldiers; their Habit was coarse, their Food plain and frugal, their Labour constant: They bred up their Children in this hard Life, to make them the more robust, and the more capable of induring the Fatigues of War. But under their rustic Outside lay an incomparable Valour, great Elevation and Nobleness of Sentiments; Glory was their only Passion, and they placed it in the Desence of their Liberty, and making themselves Massers of that of their Neighbours.

Some modern Writers, who cannot bear such Virtues in the Ancients, pretend that we make a Merit of the Rudeness of these sirst Romans, and that they despised Riches only because they knew not the

Value and Conveniences of them.

To remove this Objection, we need only cast our Eyes upon the Course of this History, and we shall see that in the sisth and sixth Ages from the Foundation of Rome, at the very time when the Republic was Mistress of all Italy, and of part of Sicily, Spain, Gaul, and Africa itself, they still took their Generals from the v. M. 1. 4. Plough: Attilii manus rustico opere at-

Cic. pro S tritæ salutem publicam stabilierunt. What Roscio. Pl. Glory to a State to have Captains able to conquer

conquer great Provinces for her, and so disinterested as to preserve their Poverty

in the midst of their Conquests!

1

t

f

f

h

f

t

or

I do not speak of the sumptuary Laws Macr. that were in force in the fixth Century, which without any Distinction of Birth, Fortune, or Dignity, regulated the Expence of every Citizen. Nothing escaped the wife Legislators that established those fevere Rules; every thing is fetled by them, as well in Drefs, as in the Expence of the Table, the Number of Guests in Feasts, and even the Charges of Funerals. Read the Lex Oppia; you will fee Paul. Man. that it forbids the Roman Ladies wearing de Leg. Sumpt. Habits of feveral Colours; having Ornaments about their Dress exceeding the Value of half an Ounce of Gold, and being carried in a Chariot with two Horses within a Mile of Rome, unless to affist at fome Sacrifice. The Lex Orchia fixed the Number of Guests that a Man might invite to a Feast: And the Lex Phannia forbad spending at it above a Hundred Asses, centenos aris; which amounted to about fifty Sous of our Money. Lastly, The Lex Cornelia fetled the Sum which might be fpent at a Funeral, at a yet more moderate Rate: Regulations, which tho' they may feem beneath the Greatness and Power to which the Romans had already attained, yet, by removing Luxury from parparticular Families, were the Strength

and Safety of the Commonwealth.

By means of this voluntary Poverty, and alaborious Life, the Republic bred in her Bosom no Men but what were strong, robust, full of Valour, and who expecting nothing from one another, did, by a mutual Independance, preserve the Liberty of their Country. It was these illustrious Husbandmen, that in less than Three Hundred Years subjected the most warlike Nations in Italy, deseated prodigious Armies of Gauls, Cimbri, and Teutones, and ruin'd the formidable Power of Carthage.

But after the Destruction of that Rival of Rome, the Romans, invincible abroad, sunk beneath the Weight of their

own Greatness.

Lucan.

___ Ipsa nocet Moles.

Luxury and the Love of Riches came into Rome with the Treasures of the conquered Provinces, and that Poverty and Temperance, which had form'd so many great Captains, fell into Contempt.

Ibid.

Paupertas fugitur.——

And what is most furprising is, says Velleius Paterculus, that it was not by Degrees, th

in

ıg,

ng

u-

ty

us

ee

r-

us

S,

r-

i-

1-

ir

grees, but all at once, that this vast Alteration happened, and the Romans ran headlong into Luxury and Esseminacy: Sublat à Imperii Æmulå, non gradu sed vel. Pat. pracipiti cursu à virtute descitum, ad vi-1. 2. tia transcursum. Pleasures succeeded in the room of Temperance; Idleness took Place of Labour, and private Regards extinguish'd that Zeal and Warmth which their Ancestors had shew'd for the Interest of the Public.

And indeed, one wou'd think that it was another Nation which is now going to appear upon the Stage; a general Corruption foon spread itself thro' all Degrees in the State: Justice was publickly fold at the Tribunals; the Voices of the People went to the highest Bidder; and the Consuls, after having obtained that great Post by Intrigues, or by Bribery, never now went to War but to enrich themselves with the Spoils of Nations, and often to plunder those very Provinces which their Duty bound them to defend and protect.

Hence came the immense Wealth of some Generals. Who wou'd believe that Crassus, a Roman Citizen, shou'd be master of above Seven Thousand Talents? I 10500000 omit the Treasures that Lucullus brought Livres. from Asia, and Julius Casar from Gaul. The former at his Return built himself Palaces, and lived in them with a Mag-

B 4 nificence

nificence and Delicacy, that the Ancient Kings of Persia wou'd have found it hard to imitate; and Cafar, more ambitious, besides enriching a great Number of Officers and Soldiers by Politic Liberalities, had still enough to corrupt the Chief Men in Rome, and to buy out the Liberty of his Country.

The Provinces were obliged to fupply these prodigious Expences. The Generals, under colour of Subfifting their Troops, possessed themselves of the Revenues of the Commonwealth: And the State was weakned, in proportion as it's

Besides the ordinary Tribute, the Governours daily exacted new Sums, either

Members became more powerful.

by the Name of Presents, at their Entrance into the Province, or by Way of Loan. Nay, often they fought no Pretence at all. It was a fufficient Colour for rifling the People, and laying new Imposts, if they did but give those Exactions Cæsar de a new Name: Cujus modo rei nomen repe-Bell. Civ. l. riri poterat, hoc satis esse ad cogendas pecunias. And what was still more infupportable, to get ready Money, they gave the Collection of these extraordinary Tributes to Publicans, who to make themselves amends for having advanced their Cash, laid a double Load upon the Provinces, and by enormous Usuries confumed the Revenues of the following Year,

All these Riches flow'd to Rome. Rivers of Gold, or to speak more properly, the purest Blood of the People ran thither from all the Provinces, and carried with it the most frightful Luxury. There arose of a sudden, and as it were by Inchantment, magnificent Palaces, whose Walls, Roofs and Ceilings were all gilded. It was not enough that their Beds and Tables were of Silver; that rich Metal must also be carved or adorned with Basso Releives, perform'd by the most excellent Artists.

Unde nefas tantum Latiis Pastoribus!

Tuv. Sat. 2

It is Seneca that relates to us this furprising Change in the Manners of the Romans, and who being himself worth Seven Millions of Gold, was not ashamed to leave us those excellent Discourses upon Poverty, which all the World admires in his Writings. By what Rule of Philosophy, cried Suillius, has Seneca in four Years Favour acquired above Seven Millions of Gold? He upbraided him, that his chief Study was to run after Wills, to take as in a Net those that were without Children, and to fill Italy and the Provinces with his Usuries: Qua Sapientia, Tacit. Ann. quibus Philosophorum præceptis, intra quadriennium Regia Amicitia, ter millies

An Introductory Descourse.

sestertium paravisset? Rome Testamenta & Orbos velut indagine ejus capi. Italiam & Provincias immenso fanore hauriri.

All the Money in the State was in the Hands of some Great Men, the Publicans, and certain Freedmen richer than their Patrons. Every Body knows that

Dion. Caff. the stately Amphitheater which was called 1. 39. by the Name of Pompey, and wou'd hold Forty Thousand People, was built at the

senec. de Cost of Demetrius, who was his Freedman: Quem non puduit, says Seneca, locu-Tranq. Anim, ch.

pletiorem esse Pompeio.

Pallas, another Freedman, and as rich as Seneca, for refusing a Present from the Emperor Claudius, his Master, received the solemn Praises of a full Senate, and was compared to those ancient Romans before-mentioned, fo famous for their Difinterestedness. Nay, it was thought worth while to preferve the Memory of his Refusal by an Inscription dictated by Flattery. There is upon the Way of Tibur, fays Pliny, a Monument with these Words:

3,750,000 The Senate decreed Pallas the Ornaments of Livres. the Pratorship, and a Hundred and Fifty Thousand great Sesterces. But he refused the Money, and was satisfied with the Honours and Distinctions belonging to that

Tac. Ann. Dignity. Et fixum est publico Senatusconsultum quo libertinus sestertium ter lib. 12. millies possessor antiquæ Parsimoniæ laudibus cumulabatur. Great

Great Moderation indeed in a Freed-Plin. 1. 7. man worth Seven Millions of Gold, to be 8. Ep. 6. fatisfied with the Ornaments of the Prætorship! But what Shame to Rome, to see a Fellow just got out of the Chains of Servitude, appear, fays Pliny, with the Fasces! he that formerly left his Village with his Feet naked and whitened with the Chalk with which they mark'd the Plin. 1. 35. Slaves: Unde cretatis pedibus advenisset. C. penult

Ishou'd write a Book instead of a Preface, if I entered into the Particulars of the Roman Luxury, and went about to represent the Magnificence of their Buildings, the Richness of their Habits, the Jewels they wore, the prodigious Number of Slaves, Freedmen, and Clients, by which they were constantly attended, and especially the Expence and Profusion of

their Tables.

ta-

au-

he

oli-

an lat

ed

ld

he

d-

11-

h

le

d

d

5

h

In the Time even of the Republic, they were not contented, fays Pacatus, if in the Panegyr very Middle of Winter the Falernian Wine Aug. that was presented them was not strow'd with Roses, and cooled in Vessels of Gold in Summer. They valued the Feast only according to the Costliness of the Dishes that were ferved up. The Birds of the Phasis (or Pheasants) must be fetch'd for them thro'all the Dangers of the Sea; and to compleat their Corruption, after the Conquest of Asia, they began to introduce Women-Singers and Dancers into their Entertainments. The

The young Men chose them for the Objects of their foolish Passion. They curled their Hair after their Manner, asfected to imitate the very Sound of their Voice, and their lascivious Gate, and excell'd those prosligate Women in nothing but Vice and Esseminacy. Capillum fran-

Sen. Rhet. but Vice and Effeminacy. Capillum fran-Controv. 1. gere, & ad muliebres blanditias vocem extenuare, mollitie corporis certare cum fæminis, & immundissimis se excolere munditiis nostrorum Adolescentium Specimen

eft.

And accordingly Julius Cafar, who very well knew the false Delicacy of those effeminate Youth, commanded his Soldiers in the Battel of Pharsalia, instead of lancing their Javelins from afar, to push them directly at the Face: Miles facient feri. And it happened, as that Great Man foresaw, the young Fellows, excessively fond of their own Beauty, turned their Backs and sled, for fear of being dissigured with Wounds and Scars.

What Defenders of Liberty! What an Omen of approaching Slavery! None cou'd be greater, than to see Valour less regarded in a State than Luxury; to see the poor Officer languishing in the obscure Honours of a Legion, while the Grandees concealed their Cowardise, and dazled the Eyes of the Public by the Magnisicence of their Equipage, and the Profusion of their Expence.

-Savior

hey

at-

ng

711-

em

im

112-

en

10

fe

1-

d

0

t

Luxuria incubuit victumq; ulscicitur Orbem.

A Luxury fo general had foon wasted the Wealth of private Men. To supply their Extravagance, after having fold their Houses and Lands, they by base Adoptions and fcandalous Alliances made Sale of the illustrious Blood of their Ancestors: and when they had nothing elfe to fell, they made Money of their Liberty. Magistrate, as well as the private Citizen, Officer and Soldier, transferr'd their Obedience wherever they thought 'twou'd turn to most Advantage. The Legions of the Commonwealth became the Legions of the Great Men, and of the Heads of Parties: And these, to engage the Soldier more strictly to their Fortune, wink'd at his Rapine, and neglected the Military Discipline to which their Ancestors owed their Conquests, and the Rupublic its Glory.

Luxury and Softness were spread from the City quite thro' the Camp. Whole Crowds of Servants and Slaves, with all the Equipage of Voluptuousness, follow'd the Army, almost an Army themselves. Casar, when he forced Pompey's Camp in the Plains of Pharsalia, found the Tables spread as for so many Feasts. The

Side-

An Introductory Discourse.

De Bell. Civ. l. 3.

Side-boards, says he, bent under the Load of Plate both Gold and Silver; the Tents were raised upon fine Green Turf; and some, as particularly that of Lentulus, for the Sake of Coolness, were shaded with Boughs and Ivy. In a word, on the Side he had forced he saw Luxury and Debauchery, and Murder and Carnage in those Parts where the Fight still continued: Alibi prælia & vulnera, alibi popine, simul cruor & strues corporum,

Tacit.

juxta scorta & scortis simile.

Is it any Wonder that Men who give themselves up to Pleasure in the very midst of Danger, and exposed themselves to Danger only to supply the Expence of their Pleasures, shou'd see their Liberty buried in the Fields of Pharsalia? Whereas so long as that Liberty, so dear to the strst Romans, was guarded by Poverty and Temperance; Love of their Country, Valour, and all the other Virtues both Civil and Military, were found always to attend it.

Claud. de Bell. Gild. 24 OC 62
—— Vinam remeare liceret
Adveteres fines, & mænia pauperis Anci.

THE



the the rf; tu-

u-

r-ill bi

n,

e y

f

- ? r - r

THE

HISTORY

O.F THE

REVOLUTIONS

That happened in the Government

OF THE

ROMAN REPUBLICK.

BOOK I.

Romulus the Founder and first King of Rome, is Head of its Religion at the same time, and estabishes divers Laws with the Consent of his Subjects. He makes an Enumeration of all the Citizens, whom he divides into three Tribes! Each Tribe is afterwards divided into Ten Curia's or Companies. The Establishment of the Senate, and of the Order of Knights The Nature of the Plebeians. The Sabins, after a very sharp War, make a strict Alliance with the Romans, and live under

under the same Laws. The Death of Romulus. Numa succeeds bim. He makes Use of Religion to Soften the rugged Manners of the Inbabitants of the City of Rome. The Battel of the Horatii and Curiatii under Tullus Hostili-Alba destroy'd. It's Inhabitants removed to Rome. Ancus Martius establishes Ceremonies to precede Declarations of War. He defeats the Latins, and joins their Territory to that of Rome. Tarquin the Ancient is chosen King by the Voices of the Chief among the People, whom he had gained to his Side. He encreases the Number of bis Senators with a Hundred of his Creatures. The Institution of the Centuries by Servius Tullius. That Prince is murdered by Tarquin the Proud, who seizes the Royalty without the Confent either of the People or Senate. His Ambition and Cruelty create a general Discontent, which the Lust of Sextus Tarquin his Son and the Death of Lucretia turn into a general Revolt. The Tarquins are expell'd, and the Royalty proscribed. The Republican State succeeds the Monarchy. They chuse Two Annual Magistrates. whom they call Confuls. The Division, which soon after happens between the People and the Senate, makes it necessary to create a new Magistrate Superior to the Consuls, which is the Dictator. The Dissentions cease for some time; but afterwards they break out afresh, and go so far that the greatest Part of the People leave the City and retire to the Mons Sacer, nor do they come back again to Rome till they obtain a general Abolition of all Debts, and the Creation of the Tribunes of the People.



13-

of

1-

to

25

re

es d PRINCE of uncertain Birth, First Year of nursed by a Prostitute, hour the brought up by Shepherds, 3301 Year and atterwards the Leader of the World, of a Gang of Robbers, laid and the 4th the first Foundations of the Olympiad. Capital of the World. He 753 before consecrated it to the God the Birth of of War, from whom he our Saviour.

wou'd have it thought he sprung; and admitted for it's Inhabitants all sorts of Men, and from all Parts, Greeks, Latins, Albans and Tuscans, most of them Shepherds and Robbers; but all Fe ows of resolute Valour. An Asylum which Tit. liv. I he opened for the Protection of Slaves and Out. 8. laws drew great Numbers, to which he afterwards added his Prisoners of War; thus ma-

king Fellow-Citizens of his Enemies.

Rome at the Beginning was not so much a City, as a Camp of Soldiers, composed of little Huts, and surrounded with slight Walls, without Civil Laws, without Magistrates, nay and without Women and Children; and served only for a Place of Security to Men of desperate Fortunes, whom Impunity or Hopes of Booty had drawn together. The Conquerors of the Universe owed their Origin to a Nest of Thieves.

Scarce was this growing City raised above it's Foundations, when it's first Inhabitants thought it expedient to put the Government into some Form. Their chief View was to reconcile Liberty with Empire; and to effect it they establish'd a kind of mix'd Monarchy, and divided the Sovereign Power between the Head or Prince of the Nation, a Senate that was to be

The History of the Revolutions

be his Council, and the Assembly of the Peo-Dien. Ma- ple. Remulus, the Founder of Rome, was cho-Hear. I. a. fen for its first King; he was at the same time p. 81. acknowledg'd the Head of their Religion, the chief Magistrate of the City, and natural General of the State. Besides a great Number of Guards, he had twelve Lictors, a kind of Ushers, that always attended him when he appeared in Public. Each Lictor was armed with a Battle-Axe, furrounded with a Bundle of Rods. to flew his Right of the Sword, the Symbol Dion. 1. 2. of Sovereignty. But with all this Pomp of Reyalty, his Power was confined to very nar-Plut, in Rom. row Limits; and he had little more Authority than to call together the Senate, and the Affemblies of the People, to propose Affairs to

than to call together the Senate, and the Affemblies of the People, to propose Affairs to them, to march at the Head of the Army, when War was resolved upon by a Public Decree; and to give Directions about the Disposal of the Public Money, which was under the Care of Treasurers, afterwards called Questors.

The first Business of the new Prince was to make feveral Laws concerning Religion, and Civil Government, all equally necessary for maintaining Society among Men, which nevertheless were not publish'd without the Consent of the whole Roman People. It is not well known what was the Form of Worship in those remote Ages. We only learn by History, that the Religion of the first Romans had a great deal of Conformity with their Origin. They celebrated the Feafts of the Goddess Pales, one of the Tutelary Divinities of the Shepherds. Pan the God of Forests had also his Altars among them; he was honoured in the Festival called Lupercalia, or of the Wolves, in which they offered him a Dog. Plutarch mentions a God called Confus, that presided

Plut. in Rom.

ho-

me

the

ne-

of

h-

ar-

1 8

ds,

loc

of

ar-

ty

F

to

y,

c-

0-

10

0

1-

1-

s

C

n

8

presided over Councils, he had no other Temple than a Grotto cut out under Ground; a mystic turn has fince been given to that which perhaps was then a meer Effect of Chance or Necessity. and we are made to believe that this Temple was form'd under Ground, to teach Men that the Deliberations of Councils should be fecret.

But the chief Religion of those rude Times lay in the Augurs and Aruspices, that is to say in the Prognostics which they drew from the Flight of Birds, or the Entrails of Beafts. Priests and Sacrificers persuaded the People, that in these they plainly read the Destinies of Men. This pious Fraud, which owed its Establishment to nothing but the Ignorance of those first A= ges, afterwards became one of the Mysteries of State, as we shall have occasion to observe in the Course of this History: And 'tis said that Romulus himself wou'd be the first Augur of Rome, for fear some other, by the help of those Superstitions, shou'd get into the Confidence of the Multitude. He forbid, by a Law made pur- Cic. 1. 3. posely for that End, that no Election shou'd be de Leg. enter'd upon, nor any body, for the future, raised to the Royal Dignity, to the Priesthood, or to any of the public Magistracies, nor any War undertaken, 'till the Auspices had first been It was in the same Spirit of Reli-Dion. 1. 2. confulted. gion, and thro' very wife Policy that he forbad all Worship of foreign Deities, which might have bred Divisions among his new Subjects. The Priesthood, by the same Law, was to be for Life: A Priest cou'd not be elected 'till the Age of fifty Years. Romulus prohibited their mixing Fables among his Mysteries of Religion, or giving them a falle Lustre, under pretence of making them more venerable to the

People.

People. They were bound to be acquainted with the Laws and Customs of their Country, and to write the principal Events that happened in the State: Thus they were its first Historians

and first Lawyers.

Gellius.

We have remaining in History, some few Fragments of the Civil Laws made by Romulus. The first relates to married Women; it decrees that they shall not leave their Husbands upon any Pretence whatfoever, at the same time that it allows the Men to put them away, and even to punish them with Death, with the Concurrence of their Relations, if they were convicted of Adultery, poisoning, making false Keys, or only drinking Wine. Romulus thought it necessary to make this severe Law to prevent Adultery, which he look'd upon to be a second Drunkenness, and a natural Effect of that dangerous Liquor: But nothing ever equall'd the Cruelty of the Laws which he settled relating to Children. He gave their Fathers an absolute Power over their Lives and Fortunes; they might by their private Authority lock them up, put them to Death, and even sell them for Slaves three times over, whatever Age they were of, or whatever Dignities they had attained: A Father was the chief Magistrate over his own Children; they had Liberty to rid themselves of those that were born with any monstrous Deformity; but except in that Case, all Murder was punisht with Death. Romulus, who was not to learn that the Power of a State consists not so much in its Extent, as in the Number of its Inhabitants, by the same Law made it criminal to kill, or so much as fell,

Dion. Plut.

Instit. Justin. l. 1.

of his Wars was only to conquer Men, being fure

fure he should never want Lands while he had Troops sufficient to possess themselves of them.

y,

ed

ns

W

11-

it

d

e

e

C

I

t

d

C

It was to know his own Strength, that he number'd all the Citizens of Rome. There was Dion. 1. 2. found to be but Three Thousand Foot, and about Three Hundred Horse. Romulus divided them all into three equal Tribes, and assigned to each a part of the City to inhabit: Each Tribe was afterwards subdivided into ten Euriæ, or Companies of an Hundred Men, that had each a Centurion to command them. A Priest, who was called Curio, had the Care of the Sacrifices, and two of the principal Inhabitants, called Duumviri, distributed Justice to the rest.

Romulus having undertaken so great a Design, as that of sounding a State, thought how he might secure the Subsistance of his new People. Rome built upon a foreign Ground, which originally depended upon the City of Alba, had but a very narrow Territory: It is affirm'd, that V. Strabo it was at most but five or six Miles. Never-1.5. theless, the Prince shared it into three Parts, which it is true were unequal. The first was consecrated to the Worship of the Gods; another was reserved for the Revenue of the King, and the Uses of the State; the most considerable part was divided into thirty Portions, to answer to the thirty Curiæ; and each Man had no more Dion. 1. 2. than two Acres for his Subsistance.

The Establishment of the Senate succeeded this Partition; Romalus made it up of a Hundred of the chief Citizens; the Number was afterwards encreased, as we shall observe in its proper Place. The King named the first Se-Id ibid, nator, and ordained that in his Absence he shou'd have the Government of the City; each C 3 Tribe

Tribe elected three, and each of the three Cu. ria, three more; which compleated the Number of an Hundred Senators, who were to be at the same time the King's Ministers, and the Protectors of the People: Functions no less noble than hard to execute well.

All Affairs of Importance were brought before the Senate. The Prince, as Head, did indeed preside in it; but still all Questions were decided by Plurality of Voices, and he had no more than his fingle Vote, like a private Senator. Rome, next to her King, faw nothing fo great and honourable as her Senators; they were called Fathers, (Patres) and their Descendants Patricians, the Origin of the first Nobility among-They gave the Senators this the Romans: Name of Fathers upon account of their Age, or the Cares they underwent for their Fellow-

Cat.Confp. Citizens. "Those who antiently composed the " Council of the Republic, says Salust, had

" indeed Bodies enfeebled by Years, but their Minds were strengthned by Wisdom and Exse perience. All Civil and Military Dignities, those of the Priesthood itself, belong'd to the Patricians, to the Exclusion of the Plebeians. The People indeed had private Magistrates, that dispens'd Justice among them; but those Magistrates received their Orders from the Senate, which was look'd upon to be the supream and living Law of the State, the Guardian and

Defender of their Liberty.

The Romans, after having establish'd their Dion. 1. 2. Senate, made another Draught out of each Curia of ten Horsemen; these were called Knights, a kind of middle Order between the Senate and the People: And of them Romulus made his Guard. They fought indifferently on

Cu.

m-

bc

he

10-

e -

n-

re

20

2-

at

1.

3-

g-

18

3,

.

C

d

r

Foot or on Horse-back, according to the Occasion and the Disposition of the Ground: The State found them a Horse, and they were distinguish'd by a Gold Ring; but afterwards, when their Number was encreased, this military Function became a meer Title of Honour, and the Knights were no more bound to be Soldiers than the other Citizens. On the contrary, we shall see them take upon them to collect the Tributes, under the Name of Publicans, and to farm the Revenues of the Commonwealth.

The third Order of the State confished of the Plebeians. Of all the People in the World, the proudest of their Origin, and the most jealous of their Liberty, were the Roman Populace. This last Order, tho' chiefly made up of Shepherds and Slaves, wou'd have their Share in the Government as well as the two former. It was they that confirmed the Laws, which had been digested by the King and Senate; and them-Dion.1.2. selves in their Assemblies gave the Orders which they themselves executed. Every thing relating to Peace and War, the Creation of Magiftrates, the Election of the King himself depended upon their Suffrages: The Senate only referv'd to themselves the Power of approving or rejecting their Schemes, which, without that Restraint and the Assistance of their Wisdom, wou'd often have been too precipitate and tumulcuous.

Such was the fundamental Constitution of this State, neither purely Monarchical, nor intirely Republican: The King, the Senate, and the People, were in a fort of mutual Dependance, from whence resulted a Balance of Authority which moderated that of the Prince, and at

4 th

the same time secured the Power of the Senate,

and the Liberty of the People.

Romulus, to prevent the Divisions which the Jealousy so natural to Mankind might breed between Citizens of one and the same Republic, of whom some were raised to the Degree of Senators, and other left in the Order of the People, endeavoured to engage them one to another Dion. 1. 2. by reciprocal Ties and Obligations. The Plebeians were allow'd to chuse Patrons out of the Body of the Senate, that were oblig'd to affift them with their Advice and Credit; and they, on their Parts, with the Name of Clients, adhered upon all Occasions to the Interest of their Patrons. If the Senator were not nich, his Clients contributed to the Portion of his Daughters, to the Payment of his Debts, or his Ranfom, if he happened to be taken Prisoner in War: And they durst not refuse him their Votes

fo facred, that those who violated them were reckoned infamous; nay, and it was lawful to kill them, as Men guilty of Sacrilege.

These prudent Regulations attracted new Citizens to Rome, from all Parts. Romulus made them all Soldiers, and already his State began to

if he stood for any Public Office. These mutual Obligations came in time to be esteemed

grow formidable to its Neighbours: The Romans wanted nothing but Wives to secure its Duration; Romulus sent Deputies to demand Intermarriage with the Sabines, and to propose a strict Alliance between them and Roma. The Sabines not

ance between them and Rome. The Sahines possess'd that Part of Italy which lies between the Tiber, the Teveron, and the Apennine: They in-

habited divers little Towns, some of which were governed by petty Princes; and others on-

ly by Magistrates, by way of Republic. But

e,

d

C,

r

5

they were all united in a kind of League and Community, which formed the several Societies of that Nation into one State. These People were the most Warlike of any in Italy, and bordered nearest upon Rome. As they began to think Romulus's new Settlement might grow dangerous, they rejected this Proposal of the Romans; some of them added Raillery to their Denial, and ask'd their Envoys, Why their Prince Liv. 1.1. did not open an Asylum for wandering Women, c. 9. and Slaves of that Sex, as he had done for Men? That this wou'd be their only Way to make Marriages, wherein neither Party cou'd upbraid the other.

Romulus heard not this sharp Answer without the quickest Resentment; he resolved to be revenged, and to take away the Daughters of the Sabines by Force. He communicated his Design to the chief among the Senate; and as most of them were brought up in Rapine, and were used to the Maxim, that Whatever they cou'd get by Strength was their own, they bestow'd the highest Praises upona Project so well fitted to their Character: All that was left to do, was to find a Dion. 1. 12. Way to succeed in their Enterprize; Romulus was of Opinion, none wou'd do better, than to celebrate solemn Sports at Rome: There was always somewhat of Religion in those Festivals, which were prepar'd by Sacrifices, and never ended without several kinds of Races, W restling, and the like.

Those Sabines that lay nearest to Rome ran thither in great Crowds, upon the Day appointed for that Solemnity, as Romulus foresaw they wou'd. There came great Number of Ceninenses, Crustuminians, Antemnates, with their Wives and Children; all these People were comprised

under

under the general Name of Sabines, and made Part of the same Community. They were received by the Remans with great Demonstrations of Joy; every Citizen had his Gueft, and after having treated them the best they cou'd, conducted and placed them conveniently, where they might see the Sports: But while the Strangers were taken up with the Spectacle, the Romans, by Romulus's Order, rush'd, Sword in Hand, into the Assembly, took away all their Daughters, and turned the Fathers and Mothers out of Reme; who complained in vain of this Violation of Hospitality. Their Daughters at first shed Floods of Tears, but at last they suffered themselves to be comforted; Time soften'd the Aversion they had for their Ravishers, who became their lawful Husbands. while this Rape of the Sabines occasion'd a Warthat lasted several Years. The Coninenses were the first that shew'd their Resentment; they enpered the Lands of the Romans in Arms. Romulus immediately marched against them, killed their King or Captain, called Acron, took their City. and obliged all the Inhabitants to follow him to Rome, where he gave them the same Rights and Privileges as were enjoy'd by the other Cirizens. He entered Rome, laden with the Arms and Spoils of the King, whom he had flain, whereof he made a kind of Trophy, and consecrated it to Jupiter Feretrius, as a Monument of his Victory: The Origin of the Triumph among the Romans. The Antemnates and Crustuminians had no better Fortune than the Ce-They were overcome; Antemnes and defroy them; but the Country being far and

4th Year of Crustuminium were taken. Romulus wou'd not Rome. fruitful, he settled in it two Colonies, which

hd

C

d

11

n

ferved for a kind of advanced Guard on that fide, against the Incursions of his other Enemy. Other Sabines, more powerful, who were the last that took Arms, under the Conduct of Tatius their King, surpris'd the City of Rome by Treachery, and penctrated to the very Forum. Here there was a very obstinate and bloody Fight, nor cou'd it be decided which Way the Victory inclined, when the Sabine Women, who were become the Wives of Romans, and who, most of them, had Children by them already, threw themselves into the very midst of the Combatants, and by their Prayers and Tears suspended their Animosity. An Accommodation was agreed upon, the two Nations made Peace, and that the Union might be the stricter, the Sabines, who before dwelt only about the Country, or in small Boroughs, came and fettled at Rome. Thus they, who in the Morning had conspired the Destruction of that City, became, e're Night, its Citizens and Defenders. Indeed it at first cost Romalus part 7th Year of of his Sovereignty: He was obliged to admit Rome,747 Tatius, King of the Sabines, into a Share of it; before and a Hundred of the noblest of that People Christ. were at the same time brought into the Senate. But Tatius being afterwards killed, by his private Enemies, nobody was appointed to succeed him Romulus came again into the Possession of all his Rights, and the whole Royal Authority returned upon his Person.

The Sabine Senators, and all that had follow'd them, grew infenfibly Romans. Rome began to be look'd upon as the most powerful City in Italy; she already reckoned Seven and Forty Thousand Inhabitants, all Soldiers, all inspired with the same Spirit, and whose only View was

to preserve their own Liberty, and to make themselves Masters of that of their Neighbours. But this fierce enterprising Temper made them less obedient to the Commands of their Prince: and the fupream Authority, which often aims at nothing but its own Augmentation, grew fuspicious and odious in the Founder of the State himself. Romulus having conquered this part of the Sabines, reigned too imperiously over his Subjects, a new People, who tho' they were indeed willing to obey him, yet thought it reasonable that he himself shou'd submit to the Laws which had been agreed upon in the Establishment of the State. That Prince on the contrary assumed to himself alone the whole Authority, which he ought to have shared with the Senate and the Assembly of the People. made War upon those of Camerinum, Fidena and Veii, little Towns comprised among the Fifty Three different People, which Pliny fays inhabited the ancient Latium, but so inconsiderable that they scarce had so much as a Name, at Virg. An the very time when they were in Being. Romulus subdued these People one after the other, took their Towns, ruined some of them, settled Colonies in others, and all this upon his own Authority. The Senate was offended at his disposing, without their Participation, of the Booty and Lands won from the Enemy, and cou'd not patiently bear that the Government shou'd be turned into a direct Monarchy. They rid themselves of a Prince that grew too

and after having reigned thirty seven, disap-

37sh Year of Absolute. Romulus at fifty five Years of Age, Rome.

Plin. 1. 3.

C. 5.

pear'd; nor was it ever discovered in what manner he was made away with. The Senate, unwilling to have it thought they were any ways

con-

COT De

no

lus

to

ea

in

no

V

concern'd in it, raised Altars to him after his Death, and made a God of him that they cou'd

not indure for their Sovereign.

The Royal Authority by the Death of Romu- 38th Year lus was lost in that of the Senate. The Sena- of Rome. tors agreed to divide it among themselves, and Flav. Voeach with the Title of Inter-Rex governed pifcus, in in his Turn Five Days, and enjoy'd all the Ho-Tacito nours of Sovereignty. This new Form of Go-Imp. vernment lasted a whole Year, and the Senate never thought of giving themselves a new Master. But the People, who found that this Interregnum only increased the Number of their Lords, loudly demanded to have it at an End: The Senate were obliged at last to yield up an Authority which they cou'd hold no longer. They put it to the People, Whether they wou'd proceed to the Election of a new King, or only chuse Annual Magistrates, that shou'd have the Government of the State. The People, out of Respect and Deserence to the Senate, left them the Choice of those Two forts of Government. Several Senators, that had a Relish for the Pleasure of seeing no Dignity in Rome superior to their own, inclin'd to the Republican State; but the Chief of that Body, who fecretly aspired to the Crown, got it determined by Plurality of Voices, That no Alteration shou'd be made in the Form of Government. It was resolved to proceed to the Election of a King; and the Senator that during this Interregnum had last perform'd the Office of Inter-rex, addressing himself to the People in full Assembly, faid to them: " Elect your felves a King, "O Romans, the Senate give their Consent; " and if you make choice of a Prince worthy " to succeed Romulus, the Senate will confirm 66 him

lon

of

wi

T

A

A

of

M

W

H

V

chim in that Supream Dignity. A general Affembly of the whole Roman People was held for this important Election. We believe it will not be unnecessary to observe here, that this Name, Affembly of the People, took in not only Plebeians, but also the Senators, Knights, and all the Roman Citizens in general that had right of Suffrage, of all Ranks and all Conditions. They were the general States of the Nation, and they were called Affemblies of the People, because the Voices being reckoned by the Head, the Plebrians, alone more numerous than the two other Orders of the State, generally had the Decision of all Affairs; which however in those early Times was of no Effect, but as their Decrees were afterwards approved by the Senate: Such was then the Form observed in Elections: There were great Contests about that of Romu-Ins's Successor. The Senate consisted of old Senators, and of the new ones that had been added to them in the Reign of Tatius; this made two Parties. The old ones demanded a Roman; the Sabines, who had been without any King of their own fince Tatius, were for having one of their own Nation. At length, after great Disputes, they agreed, that the old Senators shou'd name the King of Rome, but that they shou'd be obliged to chuse him from a-39th Year mong the Sabines. Their Choice fell upon a of Rome. Sabine of the Town of Cures, but who commonly dwelt in the Country. His Name was Numa Pompilius, a Man of Virtue, Wildom, Moderation and Equity, but no great Soldier; Dion. Hal. fo that not being able to get any Reputation by his Courage, he fought to distinguish himself

by the Virtues of Peace. He laboured during his whole Reign, with the Opportunity of a

Livy. Plut.

rai

ld

ill

ois

ly

br

ht

13.

n,

e.

ı,

Ô

È

long Cessation from War, to turn the Minds of the Romans to Religion, and to infpire them with a great Fear of the Gods. He built new Temples, he inflituted Festivals, and as the Answers of Oracles, and the Predictions of the Augurs and Aruspices, made the whole Religion of that rough People, he found it no hard Matter to perswade them that the same Deities which foretold what wou'd happen, whether Happy or Unhappy, might as well cause the Happiness or Unhappiness they foretold: A Veneration for those Superior Beings, who were fo much the more aweful as they were less known, was the Consequence of these Prejudices. Rome infenfibly grew full of Superstitions; the State made them part of their Policy, and employ'd them with Success to keep within the Bounds of Submission a People yet fierce and unpolished. It now became unlawful to undertake any thing that concerned the State, without consulting those false Deities; and Numa, to give Authority to those pious Institutions, and gain himself the Respect of the People, pretended to have receiv'd them from a Nymph called Egeria, who he faid had revealed to him the Manner in which the Gods delighted to be served. His Death, after a Reign of rear of forty three Years, left the Crown to Tullus Ho-Rome 81. stilias, whom the Romans chose for the Third King of Rome. He was a Prince ambitious, bold, enterprising, a greater Lover of War than of Peace, and who upon Romulus's Plan resolved to preserve his State only by new Conquests.

If the peaceful Conduct of Numa was fer-81d Year of viceable to the Romans, in softening the rugged Rome. Savageness of their Manners, the bold under-taking

taking Character of Tullus was no less necessary in a State founded by Violence and Force, and surrounded by Neighbours jealous of its Establishment. The People of the City of Alba shew'd the greatest Animosity, tho' most of the Romans were originally derived from them, and Alba was look'd upon as the Metropolis of all Latium, Divers Causes of mutual Complaint, very common between neighbouring States, kindled the War; or, to speak more properly, Ambition only, and a Spirit of Contest, pushed them on to Arms. The Romans and Albans took the Field. As they were near Neighbours, the two Armies were not long before they met. It was now no Secret that they were going to fight for Empire and for Liberty. As they were just ready to engage, the General of Alba, whether he feared the Success of the Battle, or whether he was desirous only to spare the Effufion of Blood, proposed to the King of Rome, to refer the Destiny of both Nations to three Combatants of each Side, and that Empire shou'd be the Prize of the Conquering Party. The Proposal was accepted; the Romans and Albans named three Champions each; every Body sees I speak of the Horatii and the Curiatii. Dion Hal I shall not enter into the Particulars of this Combat; the three Curiatii and two of the Horatii fell into this celebrated Duel, and Rome triumph'd thro' the Courage and Skill of the furviving Horatius. The Roman returning into

the City laden with the Arms and Spoils of his

Enemies, met his Sister, who was to have been

Brother dressed in her Lover's Coat of Armour which she herself had wrought, she cou'd not

1. C. 25.

1. 2. Liv. Dec. I. l.

Year of Rome 87. married to one of the Curiatii. Seeing her

> contain her Grief; she shed a Flood of Tears, fhe

the

So

ag

W

an

fu

th

B 33

66

66

fo

m

ri

ti

V

7

t

she tore her Hair, and in the Transports of her Sorrow uttered the most violent Imprecations against her Brother, and her Country itself, which she viewed as the Cause of the Fight, and of the Death of her intended Husband.

nd

ta-

lba

he

nd

all

es,

y,

ed

ris

s,

t.

r

Horatius warm with his Victory, and enraged at the Grief which his Sifter express'd with such Passion in the midst of the publick Joy, in the Heat of his Anger ran his Sword thro' her Body: "Begon to thy Lover, says he, and carry 66 him that degenerate Passion which makes thee 66 prefer a dead Enemy to the Glory of thy "Country." Every Body detested an Action fo cruel and inhuman. The Murderer was immediately seized and drag'd before the Duumviri, the proper Judges of fuch Crimes; Horatius was condemned to lose his Life, and the very Day of his Triumph had been that of his Punishment, if he had not by the Advice of Tullus Hostilius appeal'd from that Judgment to the Assembly of the People. He appear'd there with the same Courage and Resolution that he had shewn in his Combate with the Curiatii. The People thought fo great a Service might justly excuse them, if for once they moderated the Rigour of the Law: Horatius was acquitted, rather, fays Livy, thro' Admiration of his Cic. pro Courage, than for the Justice of his Cause. Milone. We related this Event only to prove, by the Advice which the King of Rome gave to Horatius, to appeal to the People, that the Authority of that Assembly was Superior to the Prince, and that in the Concurrence of the King and the feveral Orders of the State lay the true Sovereignty of that Nation.

The Affair of Horatius being ended, the King of Rome turned his Thoughts upon ma-

king his Authority acknowledg'd in the City of Alba, according to the Conditions of the Combate, which adjudged the Empire and Dominion to the Conquerors. That Prince, in the

be

H

ra

F

66

66

66

f

t

Dion. 1. 3. Spirit and Maxims of Romulus, destroy'd the City, and removed the Inhabitants to Rome:

87th Year of There they received the Privileges of Citizens, Rome. and the Principal of them were admitted into

the very Senate: Such were the Tullii, the Servilii, the Quintii, the Geganii, the Curiatii, and the Clelii, whose Descendants afterwards rose to the chief Offices of the State, and perform'd very great Services for the Commonwealth, as we shall see hereafter. Tullus Hostilius having strengthened Rome by this Addition of Inhabitation

tants, turned his Arms against the Sabines.

Year of Rome 113. The Particulars of that War are not to my Subject; I shall only say that this Prince, after having gained various Advantages over the Enemies of Rome, died in the Thirty second Year of his Reign; that Ancus Martius, Grandson of Numa, was elected, in the room of Hostilius, by the Assembly of the People, and that the Senate afterwards consistm'd this new Election.

Year of Rome

As this Prince derived all his Glory from Dion. 1. 3. his Grandfather, he applied himself to imitate his pacific Virtues, and his Respect for Religion. He instituted several sacred Ceremonies that were always to precede Declarations of War; but these pious Regulations, which were better Proofs of his Justice than of his Valour, made him contemptible among the neighbouring Nations. Rome quickly saw her Frontiers laid waste by the Incursions of the Latins, and Ancus found by his own Experience, that a Throne requires other Virtues besides Piety. Nevertheless, to keep still up to his Character, before

and ole n'd as ng ny. ter

ty of

the

Do-

the

the

me:

ens,

nto

Ser-

ear of by te

m te -28 f

, -S

C

before he took Arms, he fent to the Enemy a Herald, called by the Romans Fecialis; this Herald bore a Spear headed with Steel, as the Badge of his Commission. Being come to the Frontiers, he cried with a loud Voice, "Hear Liv. Dec.

" Jupiter, and thou Juno, hear Quirinus, hear ye 1. 1. 1. c. 66 Gods of Heaven, of Earth, and of Hell, I 24. Cic. 1. call ye to witness that the Latin Nation is 2. de Leg.

counjust; and as that Nation has injured the A. Gel. 1. " Roman People, the Roman People and I, with

" the Consent of the Senate, declare War a-

66 gainst them."

We see by this Form of Words, preserved by Livy, that the Name of the King was not so much as mention'd, and that all was done in the Name and by the Authority of the People, that is to fay of the whole Body of the Na-

This War was no less successful than it was just. Ancus defeated the Enemy, ruined their Towns, removed the Inhabitants to Rome, and added their Territory to the Dominions of that

City.

Tarquin the First or the Ancient, tho' a Stranger, rear of after the Death of Ancus, came to the Crown, Rome which he purchased by the Generous Assistance 138. he had formerly given to the Chief among the Dion. Hal. People. It was to keep their Affection, and 1. 2. to reward his Creatures, that he brought a Hundred of them into the Senate; but that he might not confound the different Orders of the State, he made them Patricians, according to Dionysius of Halicarnassus, before he raised them Dion, Hal. to the Dignity of Senators, who were now in-1.3.p. 199. creased to the Number of Three Hundred; at Aur. de viwhich they stay'd for several Ages. It will per- ris illustrihaps seem strange, that in a State governed by a

D 2

King affifted by a Senate, all Laws, Decrees, and the Result of all Deliberations shou'd constantly pass in the Name of the People, without the least mention of the Prince that reigned; but we are to remember, that this generous People had referved the greatest Share of the Government to themselves. No Resolution was taken, either for Peace or War, but in their Assemblies; they were in those Times called Assemblies by Curia, because they were to consist only of the Inhabitants of Rome, divided into thirty Curiæ: In these they chose their Kings, their Magistrates, and their Priests; made Laws, and administred Justice. 'Twas the King, with the Consent of the Senate, that conven'd these Assemblies, and by a Senatus-Consultum fix'd the Day when they shou'd be held, and the Matters which shou'd be debated in them. A Second Senatus-Consultum was required to confirm what they had decreed; the Prince or chief Magistrate presided at these Assemblies, which were always preceded by Auspices and Sacrifices, whereof the Patricians were the usual Ministers.

But nevertheless, as all was decided in these Assemblies by Plurality of Voices, and the Votes were counted by the Head, the Plebeians always carried it against the Senate and Patricians; so that they had a much greater Share in all De-

crees than the Senate and Nobles.

Rome, intirely Republican notwithstanding his Dignity, 175.
Dion. Hal.
1. 3. Liv. depend thus upon the dregs of the People, reDec. 1.1.1 folved to transfer all the Authority into the Body of the Nobility and Patricians; where he hoped to meet with juster Views, and less Passi-

on. The Enterprize was attended with very great Difficulties;

tl

ħ

t

t

C

7

rees,

con-

nout

ned;

Peo-

Gowas

heir

Af-

nfift

nto

mgs,

rith

refe

the

at-

Se-

rm 1a-

ere

ers.

tes

lys

fo

e-

ce

y,

nt

e-

)-

C

1-

IE

3

Difficulties; he had to do with the People of the World the most haughty, and most jealous of their Rights; and to bring them to remit part, he must deceive them with the Bait of some Advantage more considerable. The Romans, in those Times, paid certain Imposts by Head into the public Treasury; and as at the beginning every Man's Fortune was much upon an Equality, they had all been subjected to the same Tribute, which they continued to pay upon the same Equality, tho' Succession of Time had made great Difference between the Estates of some and of others.

Servius, to dazzle the People, and to know the Strength of his State, represented in an Assembly, that the Number of the Inhabitants of Rome and their Riches being confiderably increased by the Multitude of Strangers that had fettled in the City, he did not think it just that a poor Citizen shou'd contribute to the public Expence as much as the richeft; that those Impositions ought to be proportioned to every Man's Ability; but that in order to get an exact Knowledge of this Particular, all the Citizens, upon the greatest Penalties, should be obliged to give in a faithful Account of what they were worth, to serve as a Rule to the Commissioners which the Assembly of the People shou'd appoint to settle this Proportion.

The People, who saw in this Proposal nothing but their own Ease, received it with great Applauses; and the whole Assembly, with unanimous Consent, gave the King Power to establish in the Government whatever Order he shou'd think most agreeable to the Good of the Public. That Prince, to essect his Purpose,

D 3 first

W

fi

3

P

a

t

Thele

first divided all the Inhabitants of the City, without Distinction of Birth or Rank, into four Tribes, called the Tribes of the City. He disposed into six and twenty other Tribes the Citizens that dwelt in the Country and Territory of Rome. He then instituted the Census, which was nothing more than a List or Roll of all the Roman Citizens, containing their Age, Substance, Profession, the Name of their Tribe and Curia, and the Number of their Children and Slaves. There was found to be then in Rome and its Territory, above fourscore thousand Citizens, able to bear Arms.

Servius divided this great Number into fix

Classes, composing each Class of divers Centu-Dion. 1. 2. ries of Foot. He put into the first Class four-Liv. Dec. score Centuries, into which he admitted none I.l. I. Plin. but Senators, Patricians, or Menremarkable for 1. 3. c. 33 their Wealth; and each was to be worth at least a Hundred Mina, or Ten Thousand Drachme; which in those Days might amount to somewhat more than a Thousand Crowns of our Money; in which however I dare not be too positive, because of the Difference of Opinion among the Learned, about the Value and Variation of their Coins. We are not more certain whether each Century of this first Class consisted of a Hundred effective Men: On the contrary, there is Ground to believe that Servius, in the View of multiplying the Suffrages of the Patricians, increased the Number of their Centuries; and he concealed this secret Design, under the specious Pretence, that the Patricians being richer than the Plebeians, one Century, made up of a small Number of that Order ought to contribute as much to the Charges of the State, as a compleat Century of Plebeians.

These fourscore Companies of the first Class were divided into two Orders. The first confisting of the most ancient, all above forty five Years old, were allotted for the Guard and Defence of the City; and the other forty Companies, made up of those from seventeen to five and forty, were to march into the Field, and go to War. They had all the same Arms Offensive and Desensive: The Offensive were the Javelin, the Pike or Halberd, and the Sword; and their Desensive Arms were the Head-piece, the Cuirass, and the Cuisses of Brass.

They dispos'd likewise under this first Class all the Cavalry, whereof they made twelve Centuries, consisting of the richest and chief Men of the City; and six other Companies of those that were not of so high a Rank. To these were added two other Centuries of Artificers, who sollowed the Camp unarmed; and whose Business was to prepare and manage the Machines

of War.

City,

four

ilpo-

Citi-

ry of

hich

the

Sub-

and

and

Rome

Ci-

fix

itu-

UF-

one

for

at

ch-

ne-

10-

fire

on

a-

er-

ass

he.

1-

es

ir

n,

1-

1-

T

F

The Second Class consisted but of twenty Centuries, of those that were worth at least threescore and sisteen Minæ, that is to say, somewhat more than two thousand Livres. They used much the same Arms as the Citizens of the first Class, and were distinguish'd only by the Difference of their Shield.

There was, in like manner, but twenty Centuries in the Third Class, and a Man was required to have fifty Mine, that is to say, somewhat more than Five Hundred French Crowns,

to be admitted into it.

The Fourth Class was composed of the same Number of Centuries as the two former; and those that were placed in this Class were to be worth at least twenty five Minæ, or about Seven Hundred and Fifty Livres of our Money.

There were thirty Centuries in the Fifth Class, in which were placed all those that had at least twelve Minæ and a half, or somewhat more than Three Hundred Livres of our Money. Their only Arms were Slings, and generally they fought out of Rank, and upon the Wings of the Army.

A. Gell. 1. The Sixth Class had but one Century, which 16. c. 10. indeed could not so properly be called a Century, as a confused Multitude of poor Citizens. They were called *Proletarii*, as being no otherways useful to the Republic, than by Stocking it with Children; or Exempts, because they

were excused from going to War.

Under the Second Class, as we said before, were comprised two Centuries of Carpenters and Artificers of warlike Machines, and there were two others of Trumpeters joined to the Fourth Class. All these Classes were divided like the First, into the old Men, who stayed at home for the Desence of the City; and the young Men, who formed the Legions that were to march into the Field. These made in all, One Hundred Fourscore and Thirteen Centuries, each commanded by a Centurion of distinguish'd Experience and Valour.

Servius having establish'd this Distinction among the Citizens of the same Republic, ordained that the People shou'd be assembled by Centuries, whenever there was Occasion to elect Magistrates, make Laws, declare War, examine into Crimes committed against the Commonwealth, or against the Privileges of any Order. The Assembly was to be held out of the City, in the field of Mars. It belonged to the

Sove-

A

be

W

Pfi

tl

r

t

t Sc-

class,

leaft

han

heir

ght

the

ich

tu-

ens. er-

ng

ey

e,

rs

re

16

C

e

C

y.

Sovereign or Prime Magistrate to call these Assemblies, as well as the Curiæ; and all Deliberations were here too preceded by Auspices, which gave great Authority to the Prince and Patricians, who were vested with the chief Offices of the Priesthood. It was farther agreed, that the Votes should be gathered by Centuries, whereas before they were reckoned by Tale; and that the fourscore and eighteen Centuries of the First Class shou'd give their Votes first. Servius, by this Regulation, actually conveyed the whole Authority of the Government into this Body, made up of the Great Men of Rome; and without openly depriving the Plebeians of their Right of Suffrage, he, by this Division, made it of no Use to them. For, the whole Nation confisting but of One Hundred Fourscore and Thirteen Centuries, and fourscore and eighteen of these being in the First Class; if there were but fourscore and seventeen of the same Opinion, that is to say, one above Dion. 1. 3. half of the Hundred Fourscore and Thirteen, the Affair was concluded: And then the First Class, composed, as we said before, of the chief Men in Rome, had alone the making of all public Decrees: But if any Voices were wanting, and some Centuries of the first Class were not of the same Opinion with the rest, then they called in the second Class, and when these two Classes were of the same Mind, it was utterly unnecessary to proceed to the third. Thus the common People had not the least Power when the Votes were gathered by Centuries, whereas when they were taken by Curiæ, the Voices being reckoned by their Number, the meanest Plebeian had as much Weight as the greatest Senator: After this the Assemblies by Curiæ

Curiæ were only held for the Election of the Flamens, that is to fay, the Priests of Jupiter, Mars, and Romulus, and to chuse the chief Curio, and some Under-Magistrates; which we shall speak of in their proper Place. We were so particular in our Account of this new Plan of Government, only because, without the Knowledge of this, it would be difficult to understand what we shall hereaster relate, of the Contests which arose between the Senate and the People, concerning the Government.

The Royalty, after this Establishment, appear'd to Servius to be a Dignity intirely impertinent and unnecessary in a State almost Republican. It is faid, that to compleat his Work, and to restore the Romans to full Possession of their Liberty, he had generously resolved to abdicate the Throne, and to make he Government a perfect Commonwealth, under the Direction of two Annual Magistrates, who shou'd be elected in a general Assembly of the Roman People. But this heroic Design was frustrated by the Ambition of Tarquin the Proud, Servius's Son-in-Law, who being impatient to reign, caused his King and his Father-in-Law to be asfassinated. He at the same time took Possession of the Throne, without so much as the Form of an Election, without confulting either Senate or People; and as if the supream Power had been his hereditary Right, or a Conquest which he had won by his Courage and Valour.

Year of Rome, 219.

Id. ibid.

Year of Rome,

218.

An Action so inhuman, made him be look'd upon with Horror by all good Men. His Ambition and Cruelty were equally detested; at once a Parricide and a Tyrant, he had robbed both his Father-in Law of Life, and his Country of Liberty: And as he had ascended the Throne

by

by it l

hir

loc

Po

th

his

fa H

th

01

S

W

A

h

O

1

f the

piter,

t Cu+

were

Plan

the

un-

nate

it.

ap-

er-

Re-

rk,

of

to

er-

Di-

ı'd

an

ed

11-

n

F-

n

n

d

of

We

by this double Crime, he maintained himself in it by fresh Violences. He nevertheless behaved himself at first in his Tyranny with a great deal of Cunning; he secured the Army, which he look'd upon to be the firmest Support of his Power: Haughty and cruel in Rome, and to those who were powerful enough to oppose his Designs; but mild, humane, and even familiar in his Army and with the Soldiers. Dion. 1. .. He rewarded them magnificently, and more than once gave them the Towns of Enemy for Plunder. He seem'd to make War only to enrich them, whether he feared their Strength, if suffered to keep together at home, or whether he did it to gain from them the more Affection to his Person and Interests. He beautified the City with several public Edifices; and as his Workmen were digging for the Foundation of a Temple, they found, deep in the Earth, a Man's Head still covered with Flesh, which had remained without Corruption; this gave the Name of Capitol to that Temple, and the Divines and Augurs, who drew advantagious Consequences from the least Events, hence took Occasion to declare, that Rome shou'd one Day be Mistress of the World, and the Capital of the Universe,

Tarquin himself oversaw all these Works, constantly attended by a Band of Soldiers, that served for Guards and Spies at the same time. These Slaves of the Tyrant, being dispersed into different Parts of the City, carefully watch'd if any secret Conspiracy were forming against him. The slightest Suspicion was punished with Death, or at least with Exile. Several of the chief Senators of Rome, were made away with by private Orders, for no other Crime, than having dared to bewail the Misery of their Country.

He

He spared not Marcus Junius himself, who had married a Tarquinia. He had him put to Death, and used the same Cruelty towards the eldest Son of that illustrious Roman, because, tho' his Allies, they did not declare openly enough for his Usurpation. Lucius Junius, another of Marcus's Sons, had shared the same Fate, if, to avoid the Barbarity of the Tyrant, he had not pretended to be a Natural, and to have lost his Senfes; which made People, in Contempt, give him the Name of Brutus, which he afterwards made so famous; as we shall quickly shew.

Ovid I. Faltor.

Liv. Dec. 1. The other Senators, uncertain of their Desti-1. . c. 56. ny, remained concealed in their Houses: The Tyrant consulted none of them, the Senate was never conven'd, there was never any Assembly of the People: A cruel and despotic Power was raised upon the Ruins of the Laws and of Liberty. The several Orders of the State, all equally oppressed, impatiently waited for some Revolution, without knowing how to hope it, when the Lust of Sextus the Son of Tarquin, and the violent Death of the chast Lucretia, threw into Action the general Hatred which all the Romans had against the King, and against Monarchy itself.

There is nobody ignorant of this tragical Story; we shall only take Notice, for the clearing up of what follows, that this virtuous Lady, not being able to endure the Thoughts of Life after the Violence she had received, sent for her Husband, her Father, her Relations, and the chief Friends of her Family, of whom she demanded Revenge: At the same time she plunged a Dagger into her Breast, and fell dead at the Feet of her Father and Husband. All that were present at this melancholy Sight, ut-

fe

had

th,

left his

for

ar-

oid

·C-

n-

ve

ds

V.

i-

C

S

tered bitter Cries: But while they gave themfelves up to their Sorrow, Lucius Junius, better known by the Name of Brutus, which had
been given him upon Account of the stupid Air
he put on, as it were letting fall the Mask,
and shewing himself in his true Shape: "Yes
"fays he, (taking up the Dagger with which
"Lucretia had killed herself) I here swear to
"take a severe Revenge for the Injury that has
been done her: And I call you to witness,
all-powerful Gods, that I will expose my
Life, and lose the last Drop of my Blood,
to exterminate the Tarquins, and to hinder
any of that Family, or any other Man what-

" foever, from ever reigning in Rome.

He then put the Dagger into the Hands of Collatinus, Lucretius, Valerius, and all there prefent; from whom he exacted the same Oath. This Oath was a Signal for a general Revolt: Every body look'd upon the sudden Change that had seemingly been made in the Mind of Brutus, to be a kind of Prodigy. The common People confidered it as an absolute Miracle, and an undoubted Proof, that Heaven interposed in Lucretia's Revenge. Compassion of the Fate of that unfortunate Lady, and Aversion to Tyrants, made the People take Arms; the Army, moved with the same Sentiments, revolted too: And by a public Decree, the Tarquins were banished from Rome. The Senate, to engage the People farther in this Revolution, and make their Quarrel with the Tarquins the more irreconcileable, suffered them to plunder the Palace. The Abuse those Princes had made of the Sovereign Power, caused the Abolition of Monarchy itself. They devoted to the Gods of Hell, and condemned to the severest Punish-

m

fo

B

n

d

n

f

From the of Rome, 244 Years compleat. 1. 5. Liv. Dec. 1.1.2. Cic. Or. Idem de leg. l. 3. Val. Max. l. 4. C. I.

ments those that shou'd ever attempt to restore the Royalty. The Republican State succeeded Foundation to the Monarchie, the Senate and Nobility made their Advantage of the Wrecks of the Royalty, and possessed themselves of all its Rights; Cic. 1.3. de Rome became partly an Aristocracy, that is to leg. Dion fay, the Nobility got into their own Hands the greatest Part of the Sovereign Authority: Instead of a perpetual Prince, they chose for the pro Sextio. Government of the State two yearly Magistrates, taken from the Body of the Senate, to whom they gave the modest Title of Confuls, to put them in mind, that they were not so much the Sovereigns of the Republic, as her Counfellors, and that their only Object ought to be her Prefervation and Glory.

Brutus, the Restorer of Liberty, was chofen for the first Consul; and Collatinus, the Hufband of Lucretia, was made his Colleague, because it was likely he wou'd be more zealous to revenge the Outrage which had been done her,

than any other Man.

But this rising Republic was upon the Brink of being destroy'd at its very Beginning. Party was formed in Rome in favour of Tarquin; some young Noblemen, of the best Quality in the City, brought up at Court, and accustom'd to Licentiousness and Pleasure, undertook to re-establish that Prince. The austere Form of a Republican Government, in which the Laws alone, always inexorable, have a Right to reign, gave them greater Apprehensions than Tyranny itself: Being always used to the flattering Distinctions of the Court, they cou'd not bear that mortifying Equality, which fet them upon a level with the Multitude. This Party spread farther and farther every Day, and which is most

ftore

eded

ility

loy-

hts;

s to

inds

ity:

the

tes,

om

put

thé

ors,

re-

10-

uf-

e-

to

r,

Ik

A

4-

-

most surprising, the Sons of Brutus himself. and the Aquilis, the Nephews of Collatinus, were found to be at the Head of the Mal-contents. But before the Conspiracy broke out, they were all discovered, and their ill Designs prevented. Brutus, both the Father and Judge of the Criminals, plainly faw he cou'd not fave his Children without giving Encouragement to new Conspiracies, and being guilty himfelf of opening the Gates of Rome to Tarquin: Thus preferring his Country to his Family, Dion. 1. 5. and without hearkening to the Voice of Nature, he caused his two Sons to be beheaded in his own Presence, as Traitors. The People admired the mournful Constancy with which he had himself presided at the Execution. His Authority grew the greater for this Action; and after such a severe Punishment of the Consul's two Sons, not a fingle Roman durst so much as think of bringing back Tarquin. Collatinus, Brutus's Colleague, by a contrary Behaviour, and for endeavouring to fave his Nephews, made himself suspicious, and was deposed from the Consulship. The People jealous, and almost furious in the Defence of their Liberty, banish'd him from Rome, only because he was of the Royal Family; they durst not confide in the Shew of Hatred which that Roman expressed against Tarquin: They feared, with some Reason, that being Cic. 1. 3. a Relation of that Prince's, he might have Offic. his Lust of Dominion in him, and be more an Enemy to the King, than to the Kingship. Marcus Valerius was chosen Liv. Dec. t. his Place, and Tarquin having now 1. 2. c. 2. no farther Hopes from his Party in Rome, Dion. 1. 5. undertook to restore himself by open Force. The

The Romans still oppos'd it with an invincible

Constancy; it came to a War, and in the first Battle that was fought near the City against the Tarquins, Brutus and Aronces the eldest Son of Tarquin killed each other with their Lances; thus the two first Consuls of the Republic did not finish their Year of Consulship. Valerius continued alone in that Supream Dignity, which made the People apprehensive that he intended to reign fingly. A House which he built upon an Eminence increased this Suspicion; his Enemies and his Enviers gave out, That it was a Citadel, which he built for the Seat of his Tyranny. But that Great Man disappointed the Malice of these Reports, and quite dissipated them by the Moderation and Wisdom of his Conduct. He himself pulled down the House, which gave occasion of Jealousy to his Fellow-Citizens, and the Conful of the Romans was forced to hire a House to live in Before he gave himself a Colleague, and while the whole Authority was in his own Hands, he by one fingle Law, in Favour of the People, changed the whole Form of the Government; and whereas under the Kings, the Plebiscita, or Decrees of the People, had not the Force of Laws any farther than they were confirm'd by a Senatus-Consultum, Valerius publish'd a Law which ordained the direct contrary, giving Permission to appeal to the Assemblies of the People, either from the Judgment of the Confuls, or the Decrees of the Senate: By this new Law he increased the Privileges of the People; and the Consular Power was weakened in its very Beginning.

He at the same Time ordained that the Axes shou'd be separated from the Fasces which the

Lictors

Id. ibid.

ncible

e first

gainst

t Son

nces;

did

lerius

hich

nded

upon

s E-

was

his

nted

ipa-

n of

the

his

ans

ore

by

le,

it;

or of

by

W

g

C

1-

is

C

1

Lictors carried before the chief Conful; to shew that that Magistrate had not the Right of the Sword, the Symbol of the Sovereign Authority: And in an Assembly of the People, the Multitude observed with Pleasure that he had Plut in caused the Fasces of his Lictors to be bowed down, as a filent Homage which he paid to the Sovereignty of the Roman People: And to remove all manner of Suspicion of his having the least Thoughts of Tyranny, he publish'd another Decree, making it lawful to kill, without any preceding Formality, the Man that shou'd aim at being Master of the Liberty of his Fellow-Citizens. This Law contained that the Affaffin shou'd be declared innocent, provided he brought Proof of the ill Designs of him he had flain. It was upon the same Principle of Moderation, that he wou'd not take upon him the keeping of the public Money raised to defray the Charges of the War; it was deposited Publius in the Temple of Saturn, and the People, by his Minutius Advice, elected Two Senators, afterwards cal-Marcus. led Questors, who were to have the Care of the Ulpian. Public Treasure. He then declared Lucretius, Digett 1.12 Father of Lucretia, for his Colleague in the Facit.l. 1. Confulship; nay, and yielded to him, upon Account of his Seniority of Years, the Honour of the Fasses and all the other Marks of the Sovereign Power

A Conduct so full of Moderation, and Laws so favourable to the People, got a Patrician the Name of Publicola or Popular; and it was not so much to deserve that Title, as to bind the People the more strictly to the Desence of the public Liberty, that he abated of his Authority

by these various Regulations.

The

Year of Rome 245.

The Senate inspired with the same Spirit, and convinced of what Consequence it was to themselves to make it the People's Interest to maintain the Commonwealth, took great Care of their Subsistence during the War and the Siege of Rome. They sent to several Parts of Campania, and even to Cumæ to setch Corn, which they distributed to the People at low Rates, for sear if they wanted Bread, they might be tempted to purchase it with the Loss of the common Liberty, and open the Gates of Rome to Tarquin.

The Senate wou'd not so much as lay any Impost upon the People during the War. Those wise Senators tax'd themselves higher than the rest, and we owe to that illustrious Company this generous and equitable Maxim, "That the People paid Tribute enough to the Commonwealth in raising Children able to defend

cc it.

But this just Condescention to the Necessities of the People lasted no longer than the Siege of Rome, and the Fear of Tarquin's Arms. Scarce did the Fortune of the Republic seem secured by the raising of this Siege, but the Ambition of the Patricians broke out; and the Senate quickly made it plain, that by substituting two Consuls drawn from their Body, in the Room of the Prince, the People had only changed their Masters, the same Authority still continuing tho' the Name was altered.

The Royalty was indeed abolished, but the Spirit of Royalty was not extinguished; it was entered into the Patricians. The Senate, delivered from the Awe of the Royal Power, was for bringing into its own Body the whole Authority of the Government. In possessing

the

the Civil and Military Dignities which were appropriated to that Order, they enjoy'd all the Power and Riches which are the Effects of them: And the chief Object of their Politics was still to keep the People in Subjection and

Indigence.

t,

0

O

re

C

of

n,

W

(s

of

y

e

y

ıe

1-

d

es

ZC

S.

m

1-

-

g

le

d

1-

e

15

r,

¢

g

This People, whose Votes were so courted in the Elections and public Assemblies, sell into Contempt out of the Comitia. The Multitude in a Body was used with great Respect, but the particular Plebeian was hardly regarded; none were ever admitted into the Alliance of the Patricians. Poverty soon reduced the People to a Necessity of borrowing, which threw them into a Slavish Dependance upon the Rich; afterwards came Usury, a Remedy yet more intolerable than the Distemper; and at last Birth, Dignities and Wealth set too great an inequality between the Citizens of one and the same Republic.

The Views of these two Orders quickly became opposite: The Patrician abounding in Valour, and accustomed to Command, was always for making War, and sought nothing but to extend the Power of the Commonwealth Abroad; but the People desired to see Rome free at Home, and complained that while they ventured their Lives to subdue the neighbouring Nations, they themselves, at their Return from the Campaign, often sell into the Chains of their own Fellow-Citizens, thro' the Ambition and Avarice of the Great. We shall enter somewhat farther into this Point, as the Ground of the Revolutions we are to speak of.

Of all the Means which the Calls of Nature have put Men upon inventing, the Romans practifed only Tillage and War; they lived up-

E 2

on their own Crops, or upon the Harvest they reaped Sword in Hand in the Territories of their Enemies. All the Mechanic Arts that were not subservient to these two Professions, were Dionys 1. unknown at Rome, or left to Slaves and Strangers. 2. Put in Generally speaking, all the Romans, from the Senator to the meanest Plebeian, were Labourers, and all the Labourers were Soldiers: And we shall see in the Course of this History, that they called their greatest Captains from the Plough, to command their Armies. All the Romans, the very greatest in the Republic, inured their Children to these Employments, and bred them up in a hard and laborious Way of Life, to make them the more robust, and the more capable of fustaining the Fatigues of

> This domestic Discipline had its Rise from the Poverty of the first Romans: They afterwards made a Virtue of what was the mere Effect of Necessity, and Men of Courage looked upon this equal Poverty of all the Citizens, as the Means to preserve their Liberty from all Usurpation. Each Citizen had at first for his Sublittence but two Acres of Land, as we faid before; Rome afterwards extended its Territory by little and little, by the Conquest of their Neighbours. They usually fold one Moiety of the Lands they conquered, to reimburse the State for the Charges of the War, and the other Moiety was added to the Public Domain, which was afterwards either given or let at a small Rent to the poorest Citizens, to help to maintain them: Such was the Ancient Custom of Rome, under her Kings, that is to fay for above two hundred Years. But after the Extinction of Monarchy, the Nobles and Patricians

Rom.

War.

hey

s of

vere

vere

gers.

the

our-

And

hat

the

the

in-

and

of

the

of

om

ley

he

ou-

he

rty

rft

as

its

est

ne

C-

he

he

1-

IS,

nt

O

er

d

15

Patricians, who looked upon themselves to be the Sovereigns of the Republic, did, under various Pretences, appropriate to themselves the best part of those conquered Lands if they lay near their own Estates, or were any other Ways convenient for them; thus enlarging their own Revenues to the Diminution of those of the Republic: Or else under borrowed Names, they caused those Portions which were allotted for the Subfistence of the poor Citizens, to be adjudged to themselves at inconsiderable Rents. They afterwards lay'd them into their other Lands, without Distinction; and a few Years Possession, and their own great Credit, covered these Usurpations. The State lost her Revenue, and the Soldier, after having spent his Blood to enlarge the Bounds of the Republic, faw himfelf deprived of the small Portion of Land that ought to have been at once his Pay and his Reward.

The Covetousness of some Patricians was not confined to these Usurpations only; but when the Harvest fell short by the Badness of the Year, or by the Irruptions of Enemies, they knew how by an ill-meant Relief to make themselves a Title to their Neighbour's Field. The Soldier who then was without Pay being intirely destitute, was forced for his Subfistance to have recourse to the rich. They lent him no Money but at exorbitant Ulury, and that Ulury too was in thole Days Arbitrary, if you will believe Tacitus. The Tac. Ann. Debtor must engage his little Inheritance, and! 6. ad this cruel Affistance often cost him his Liberty. Ann. 786. The Laws of those times allowed the Creditor upon Default of Payment to seize his Debtor, and carry him to his own House, where he . was treated like a Slave. Both Principal and E 3

Interest was often exacted with Stripes and Torments; his Land was taken from him by accumulated Usury: and under pretence of the Observation of the Laws and strict Justice, the

People daily suffered the utmost wrong.

A Government so severe in a new Republic, quickly raised a general Discontent. The Plebeians, who were oppress'd with Debts, and were afraid of being arrested by their Creditors, applied to their Patrons and the most disinterested among the Senators. They represented to them their extream want, the difficulty they had to bring up their Children, and told them, that after having fought against the Tarquins for the Desence of the public Liberty, they were lest exposed to become the Slaves of their own Fellow-Citizens.

These Complaints were followed by secret Menaces, and the Plebeians finding no Redress of their Grievances, at length broke out under the Consulate of T. Largius and Q. Clelius.

Rome, as we said before, was surrounded by a great many petty States who were uneasy and jealous of the Encrease of her Power. The Latines, the Æqui, the Sabines, the Volsci, the Hernici, and the Veientes, sometimes jointly, and sometimes separately, were almost continually making War upon her. It was perhaps to the Enmity of these Nations that the Romans owed that Valour and that military Discipline which afterwards made them Masters of the Universe.

Year of Rome 257.

Year of Rome,

255.

Tarquin was still living: He had secretly formed a strong League against the Romans; thirty Latine Cities entered into the Design of Restoring him. The Hernici and the Volsci favoured the Undertaking: The people of Etruria alone were

for

for seeing the Business a little more ripe before they declared themselves; and remained neuter, with Intent to take their Party according to the Success.

and n by

the

the

blic,

Ple-

were

ifin-

nted

hey

em,

uins

hey

eir

ret

ress

ler

v a

nd

10

he

d

ly

le

d

The Confuls and Senate beheld not without uneafiness fo general a Conspiracy against the Commonwealth; they immediately thought of putting themselves into a State of Defence. As Rome had no Soldiers but her own Citizens, it was necessary to make the People take Arms; but the poorer fort, and especially those that were deep in Debt, declared, that it was Their Business who enjoy'd the Dignities and Riches of the Republic, to defend it; that for their Parts, they were grown weary of exposing their Lives every Day for Masters so cruel and infatiable. They refused to give their Names, as was usual, in order to be listed in the Legions; the hottest of them said boldly that they were no more tied to their Country, where not an Inch of Land was left them in Property, than to any other Climate tho' never so strange; that at least there they shou'd find no Creditors; that there was no way but leaving Rome to free themfelves from their Tyranny, and they openly D. H. I. S. threaten'd to abandon the City, unless all Debts were abolished by a Senatus-Consultum.

The Senate, very much disturbed at a Disobedience so little different from a barefac'd Rebellion, immediately assembled: Several Opinions were given. The more moderate Senators were for relieving the People. M. Valerius, the Brother of Publicola, and who by his Example affected Popularity, represented that most of the poor Plebeians had been forced to contract Debts only by the Missortunes of War; that if in such a Conjuncture as this, when a great

E 4

Part

Id ibid.

Part of Italy had declar'd in Favour of Tarquins they did not redress the Grievances of the People, it was to be feared that Despair might drive them into the Tyrant's Party, and that the Senate by stretching their Authority too far, might lose it all in the Restoration of the Royalty. Several Senators, and especially those that had no Debtors, were of his Opinion; but it was rejected with Indignation by the richer fort. Appius Claudius opposed it also, but with different That Senator, austere in his Manners, and a severe Observer of the Laws, maintained, that no Alteration cou'd be made in them, without endangering the Republic. Tho' he was compassionate of the People, some of whom he daily reliev'd out of his own Estate, he nevertheless declared in full Senate, that they cou'd not with Justice refuse the Authority of the Laws to fuch Creditors as wou'd profecute their Debtors with Rigour.

But before we enter into a more particular Discussion of this Affair, perhaps it may not be improper to give a thorough Knowledge of a Patrician, who by himself and Descendants had so great a Share in the several Commotions which afterwards agitated the Commonwealth.

Appius Clausus, or Claudius, was a Sabin by Romerso. Birth, and one of the chief of the City Regillum. Some Civil Diffentions, in which his Party proved the weakest, oblig'd him to leave it. He retired to Rome, which offer'd an Asylum to all Strangers. He was follow'd by his Family and Partizans, whom Velleius Paterculus makes to have been Five Thousand.

The Right of Citizens was granted them with Lands to inhabit, situated upon the River Teveron: This was the Origin of the Claudian

Tribe.

quins Peo-

ight

far,

that

was

ort.

ent ers,

ed,

th-

m-

he

er-

ľď

he

ir

e

a

Tribe. Appius, who was the Head of it, was receiv'd into the Senate, where he foon diffinguished himself by the Wisdom of his Counfels, and especially by his immoveable Firmness. He loudly opposed the Advice of Valerius, as D. H. I. 5. we said before, and represented in full Senate that Justice being the surest Support of a State, there was no abolishing the Debts of particular Persons without ruining the public Faith, the only Bond of Society among Men. That the People themselves, in whose Favour this unjust Decree was proposed, wou'd be the first Sufferers by it; that in any new Necessity the Rich wou'd shut their Purses; that the Discontent of the Great was no less to be feared than the Murmurs of the People, and that perhaps they wou'd not eafily bear the annulling of Contracts, which were the Fruit of their Temperance and OEconomy. He added, that no body cou'd be ignorant that Rome at the beginning affigned no greater Portions of Land to the Nobles and Patricians than to the Plebeians. these latter had but lately shared the Estate of the Tarquins; that they had often got considerable Booty in War, and that if they had squandered it all away in Debauchery, there was no Reason why they shou'd be reimburst at the Expence of those who had lived with more Prudence and good Management; that after all they shou'd consider the Mutineers, and those who made the most Noise, were Plebeians of the very lowest Classes, and who in Battel were usually placed only in the Wings or in the Rear of the Legions; that most of them were armed with nothing but Slings; that there was neither great Service to be expected, nor great Danger to be feared from such Soldiers; that the Republic wou'd

wou'd have no great Loss of People that were of no Use but to fill up a Number; and that to despise the Sedition was sufficient to break it, and to make the Authors submit ther selves

humbly to the Clemency of the Senate.

Some Senators who were for finding a Medium between two Opinions that were so very opposite, proposed that the Creditors at least might have no Power over the Persons of their Debtors. Others were for acquitting the Debts of those only who were notoriously unable to pay them; and there were some, who to satisfie the public Faith, proposed to pay the Creditors out of the public Treasury. The Senate accepted of none of these Schemes: They resolved not to offer any Violation to such solemn Acts as Contracts; but in order to pacifie the People, and engage them to take Arms in Desence of the State, they pass'd a Senatus Consultum, which granted a Suspension of all Debts 'till the End of the War.

This Condescension of the Senate was an Effect of the Approach of the Enemy, who advanced towards Rome. But a great many of the Plebeians grown bolder for the same Reafon declared, that they wou'd either have an absolute Abolition of all Debts, or leave it to the Rich and Great to take Care of the War, and defend a City in whose Safety they thought themselves no longer concern'd, and which in-deed they were ready to leave. The Resolution they shew'd gained them Companions. The Number of the Mal-contents encreased daily; nay and many among the People, who had neither Debts nor Creditors, cou'd not help complaining of the Severity of the Senate, either thro' Compassion for those of their own Order,

Were that break elves

Medivery leaft their ebts e to isfie

edinate folmn the De-011-

ots fdof 1n 0

d t

Order, or out of that fecret Aversion which all Men naturally have to Dominion.

Tho' the wifest and richest of the Plebeians. and especially the Clients of the Nobles had no Part in the Sedition; yet the Separation which the Mal-contents threatened, and their obstinate Refusal of taking Arms were of dangerous Example, especially at a time when most of the Latins, commanded by the Sons and Son-in-Law of Tarquin, were at the Gates of Rome. The Senate might indeed have profecuted the most mutinous and the Leaders of the Sedition, but the Lex Valeria, which allowed Appeals to the Assembly of the People, was a Shelter for the Seditious; who were fure of being acquitted by the Accomplices of their Rebellion.

The Senate, to elude the Effect of a Privilege fo derogatory to their Power, refolved to create one supream Magistrate that should be equally above the Senate itself and the Assembly of the People, and be endowed with absolute Authority. To obtain the Consent of the People, they represented to them in a public Affembly, that upon this Emergency in which they had their Domestic Quarrels to decide, and the Enemy to repulse at the same time, it was necessary to put the Commonwealth under a fingle Governour, superior to the Consuls themselves, who shou'd be Arbiter of the Laws, and as it were the Father of his Country: And that for fear he should make himself its Tyrant, and abuse this uncontroulable Authority, they ought not to trust him with it above fix

Months.

The People, overjoy'd at the Thoughts of having a Magistrate above the Consuls and Senate, agreed to his Election: It was ordained that

that the first Consul should have the Power of naming him, as a kind of Amends for the Authority he lost by his Creation. Clelius prefently named his Colleague T. Largius; the first Roman that, with the Title of Dictator,

Year of Dec. I. L. 2. D. H. L. 5.

Rome 259, enjoy'd this supream Dignity, which may be 498 before called an absolute Monarchy in a Republic, Christ. Liv. tho' not durable. And indeed the Moment he was named he had Power of Life and Death over all the Citizens of every Degree, without any Appeal. The Authority and the very Functions of all other Magistrates ceased, or were subordinate to him: He had the naming of the General of the Horse, who was wholly at his Command, and served too as the Captain of his Guard. He had Lictors armed with Axes like a King. He might raise Troops or disband them at his Pleasure. He might make Peace or War, without asking Advice either of the Senate or the People; and when his Authority was expired, he was not obliged to give an Account of any thing he had done during his Administration.

T. Largius being invested with this great Dignity, named, without the Participation either of Senate or People, Spurius Cassius Viscellinus for General of the Horse; and tho' he was indeed one of the most moderate of the whole Senate, yet he outwardly seemed to do every thing with a stern Haughtiness, to make himfelf feared of the People, and awe them into their Duty. The Firmness of this Magistrate struck a Terrour into every body; they found that under so resolute a Master, who would not fail to make an Example of the first that should rebel, Submission was the only Course they had

to take.

The

r of

Au-

pre-

tor.

be

lic,

ent

ath

ind

he

ed,

ng

lly

in

X-

f-

C

r

IS

0

The Dictator feated upon a high Chair like a Throne, which he had caused to be set up in the public Place, and furrounded by his Lictors armed with their Axes, ordered every Citizen to be called one after another. The Plebeians, without daring to stir a Finger, offered themselves quietly to be listed; and every one full of Awe ranged himself under his Banners. The War was afterwards pushed on with Success: the Enemy was repulsed and defeated near the Lake Regillus: Two of Tarquin's Sons, his Son-in-Law, and fifty thousand Latins fell in this Battel. Thus this prudent Dictator, by a Conduct equally resolute and mild, turned upon the Foe the Animosity that was among his Fellow-Citizens.

But a Peace, and the End of the Dictatorship, soon revived those domestic Feuds which the War had only suspended. The Creditors again fell to profecuting their Debtors, and these renewed their Murmurs and Complaints. This Liv L. 4. great Affair raised fresh Troubles, and the Se- in Orat.. nate in hopes to prevent ill Consequences got Canulei. the Consulship for Appius Claudius, whose Refolution they were well acquainted with. lest he should carry it too far they gave him for his Colleague Servilius, a Man of a gentle, humane Character, and agreeable to the Poor and the Multitude. These two Magistrates were fure to be of contrary Opinions. Servilius out of Goodness and Compassion to the Unfortunate inclined to the Suppression of the Debts, or at least to the taking off of the Principal those exorbitant and accumulated Interests which considerably exceeded it. He exhorted the Senate to make some Regulation in this Matter, that might ease the People and set-

tle

tle the Tranquility of the State upon a lasting Foundation.

But Appius, a severe Observer of the Laws, maintain'd with his usual Constancy that it was a manifest Injustice to relieve the Debtors at the Expence of the Fortunes of their Creditors; that this Project tended to the very Ruin of the Subordination necessary in a well govern'd State; that the Condescension which Servilius was for shewing to the Necessities of the People, wou'd be look'd upon by the Seditious only as a concealed Weakness, and so breed new Pretensions; whereas nothing wou'd be a better Proof of the Power of the Commonwealth than a just Severity shewed to those who by their Disobedience and Cabals had violated the Majesty of the Senate.

The People, informed of what had passed in the Senate, and of the different Inclinations of the two Consuls, showered as many Praises upon Servilius, as they threw Imprecations upon

Appius.

The most mutinous flock together again; they hold secret Assemblies in the Night-time, and in By-Places: All is in motion; when behold the Calamity of a private Man throws the public Discontent into Action, and raises a

general Sedition.

Liv. l. 2. Dec. 1. A Plebeian laden with Chains flings himself into the public Place as into an Assium. His Cloaths were torn; his Visage pale and disfigured; a rough Beard, and Hair neglected and disordered made his Countenance look ghastly. He was nevertheless very well known; and some remembered to have been with him in the Wars, and to have seen him fight with great Valour. He himself shewed the Scars of the Wounds that

fling

a W6,

Was

the

ors;

of

n'd

Was

ole,

5 2

ıli-

of

a

eir

2-

in

of

)-

n

that he had received upon several Occasions; he named the Consuls, the Tribunes, and the Centurions under whom he had served, and addreffing his Speech to a Multitude of People that surrounded him, and that carnestly enquired the Cause of the deplorable Condition he was in, he told them that while he bore Arms in the last War against the Sabines, he had not only been hindered from cultivating his little Inheritance, but the Enemy in an Incursion, after having plundered his House, had set it on fire. That the Necessities of Life, and the Tributes which notwithstanding his Misfortune he was obliged to pay, had forced him to contract Debts; that the Interest being by degrees grown to an excessive Sum, he was reduced to the melancholy Expedient of yielding up his Inheritance to difcharge Part of it. But that the merciles Creditor not being yet quite paid, had dragged him to Prison, with two of his Children; that Dion, Hal. to oblige him to hasten the Payment of thel. 6. Residue, he had delivered him over to his Slaves, who, by his Order had torn his Body with Whips: At the same time he flung off his Garment, and discovered his Back still bloody with the Lashes he had received.

The People already in motion, provoked at fo barbarous an Action, uttered a thousand Cries of Indignation against the Patricians. The Noise ran in a Moment over the whole City, and the People flocked from all Parts into the Forum. Those whom the like Misfortunes had thrown into the Fetters of their Creditors make their Escape; the Sedition quickly finds Leaders and Abettors. The Authority of the Magistrate is no longer regarded; and the Confuls, who came in hopes of putting a Stop to the Disor-

Disorder by their Presence, being surrounded by the People hot with Fury, find neither Re-

spect nor Obedience in the Citizen.

Appius, abhorred by the Multitude, was just going to be infulted, if he had not escaped under Favour of the Tumult. Servilius, tho' more agreeable to the People, was forced to throw off his Consular Robe; and without any Mark of his Dignity he runs into the Crowd, careffes the most mutinous, and with Tears in his Eyes conjures them to appeale this Sedition. He gives them his Word that he will immediately call the Senate, and take as much Care of the Peoples Interests in it, as any Plebeian cou'd do; and as a Proof of his Sincerity, he proclaims by a Herald that none shall take up any Citizen for Debt, 'till the Senate had made fome new Regulation in this Affair.

The People upon his Word disperse: The Senate assembles. Servilius sets forth the Disposition of Mens Minds, and the Necessity in fuch a Conjuncture of abating somewhat of the Severity of the Laws. Appius on the contrary, always fixed to his Opinion, firmly oppoles The diversity of Sentiments breeds a Bitterness between these two: Appius, who cou'd not help sowering the Usefulness of his Counsels with the Austerity of his Character, and the roughness of his Manners, publickly up-D. H. l. 6 braids his Colleague with being a Flatterer and a Slave to the People. Servilius on his fide reproach'd him with the ruggedness of his Temper, his Pride, and the Animosity he shewed against the Plebeians. The Senate divide themselves between these two Great Men; each takes

> his Party according to his Inclination or Interest. The Difference of Opinions, and the

> > Oppo-

ded by

as just dunmore hrow Mark caresn his

edie of ou'd oroany ade

tion.

in he ry, les it-

id od id

s : Opposition of Sentiments raise a great Noise in the Assembly. During this Tumult some Horsemen come full speed with an account that an Army of Volsei were upon their march to Rome.

This News was received very differently by the Senate, from what it was by the People. The Senators, their Clients, and the richer fort of Plebeians take Arms. But those who were oppressed with Debts, shewing their Chains, asked with a fierce kind of a Smile, whether it was worth their while to expose their Lives to defend such Ornaments? And all those Plebeians obstinately refused to give their Names to be inrolled.

The City was in that Agitation which usually precedes the greatest Revolutions; the Confuls divided; the People disobedient to their Magistrates; and the Volsci at the Gates of Rome. The Senate, who were almost equally afraid of the Citizen and the Enemy, ingaged Appius to take upon him the defence of the City, because they hoped the People wou'd more willingly follow his Collegue into the Field. Servilius, who was appointed to march against the Enemy, conjures the People not to abandon him in this Expedition; and to prevail upon them to take Arms, he publishes a new Prohibition against detaining in Prison any Roman Gitizen that was willing to go with him to the War, or seizing his Children or his Goods: And by the same Edict he engages himself in the Name of the Senate, to give the People at his return all manner of Satisfaction with relation to their Debts.

This Declaration was no sooner published, but the People crowded in to list themselves, some out of Affection to the Consul, whom

F

they

1. 2.

they knew to be their Friend, and others that they might not stay in Rome under the severe and imperious Government of Appius. But of all the Plebeians none inrolled themselves more heartily, nor shewed more Courage against the Enemy, than those who had been most active in the last Tumult. The Volsci were defeated, and the Conful, to reward the Soldier for his Valour in this War, left him the Plunder of the Enemy's Camp, without referving any thing

for the publick Treasury as was usual.

The People at his Return met him with great Applauses, and confidently expected the Effect of his Promise. Servilius lest no means untried to make good his word, and to induce the Senate to grant a general abolition of Debts. But Appius, who looked upon the least change in the Laws to be dangerous, strongly opposed his Colleague's Design. He gave the Creditors fresh Power to drag the Debtors to Prison; and the Applauses he received for this from the Rich, and the Curfes from the Poor, equally concurred to the confirming of this Magistrate in his Severity.

Those that were Arrested appealed to Servilius; they urged upon him the Promises he had made to the People before the Campaign, and the Services they had done in the War. They cried aloud before his Tribunal, that either in Quality of Consul and chief Magistrate he shou'd undertake the defence of his Fellow Citizens. or that as General he shou'd not desert the Interests of his Soldiers. But Servilius, who was of a mild timorous Character, durst not de-Liv. Dec. 1. clare openly against the whole body of Pa-

tricians; and endeavouring to manage both Parties, he disobliged both, so that he got the

Hatred

Hatred of the one, and the Contempt of the other.

The People finding themselves abandoned by Servilius, and persecuted by his Colleague, assemble tumultuously, confer, and resolve to owe the redress of their Grievances only to themselves, and to oppose Tyranny with Force. The Debtors being pursued into the very Forum by their Creditors, there find a fure Refuge among the Crowd; the Multitude in fury beat, disperse and repulse those merciless Creditors, who implore in vain the Affistance of the Laws. A new irruption of the Volsci, the Sabines, and the Equi, raises the Courage of the People higher than before, and they openly refuse to

march against the Enemy.

that

evere

ut of

more

t the

ctive

ated,

r of

hing

with

the

cans

luce

bts.

nge

pled tors

on;

the

ial-

atc

V1-

nad

nd

ey

in

ľď

15,

n-

as

e-

a-

h

C

d

A. Virginius, and T. Vetufius, who succeeded Year of Appias and Servilius in the Consulate, attempt-Romers9. ed to quell this Tumult by dint of Authority. They caused the Leaders of it to be seized; but the People, still furious, tore them out of the hands of the Lictors, and the Confuls experienced on this occasion, how little respect is paid to Majesty without Strength. A Disobedience so declared, and so little different from a Revolt, alarmed the Senate, which affembled extraordinarily. T. Largias, whom we have seen Distator, gave his Opinion first. That ancient Magistrate, fo venerable for his Wisdom and Firmness, said, "That he saw, with abun-"dance of Grief, Rome split as it were into " two Nations, and forming two different Ci-" ties. That the first was full of nothing but "Riches and Pride, and the second of Misery and Rebellion. That there was no appea-" rance in either of Justice or of Honour, or even of common Decency; and that the F 2 " Haughti" Haughtiness of the Great, was no less odicous than the Disobedience of the common "People. That he was nevertheless obliged to own, that he foresaw the extream Poverty " of the People wou'd always keep up Dissen-"tion; and that he did not think it possible to " restore Peace and Union between these two "Orders, any otherwise than by a general Abo-" lition of the Debts.

Other Senators were for restraining this Fayour to those who in the last Wars had done good Service to the Commonwealth; and represented that it was no more than a piece of Justice that was due to them, and for which

Servilius's Promise stood engaged.

Appius, when it was his turn to speak, opposed equally both those Proposals: "All these "Seditions, fays he, do not proceed from the "Peoples Want; they are much rather the " effect of an unbridled licentiousness, which " the Seditious are pleased to call by the Name " of Liberty. All this Confusion has its rife " from the abuse which the People makes of " the Lex Valeria; they violate the Majesty of " the Confuls with impunity, because the Mu-" tinous know they can appeal from the con-" demnation of their Crime to the very Ac-" complices of their Guilt; and what Order " can we ever hope to establish in a State, " where the Decrees of the Magistrates are " subject to the Revisal and Judgment of a "Rabble that are guided by nothing but their " fury and caprice? We must create a Dieta-" tor, added Appius, whose Judgments are with-" out Appeal; and then you need not fear " that any Plebeian will be so insolent as to re-" pulse the Lictors of a Magistrate, who has " the

" the fovereign disposal of their Lives and Forcc tunes.

The young Senators jealous of the Senate's Honour, and those especially whose Interest was concerned in the Abolition of the Debts, declared for Appius's Opinion; they were even for beflowing that great Dignity upon him: They faid that none but a Man of his Firmness and Intrepidity cou'd reduce the People to their Duty. But the old Senators, and the more moderate, thought that Supreme Power formidable enough of it felf, without placing it in a Man naturally severe, and odious to the multitude. One of the Confuls by their Advice named for Dictator Manius Valerius the Son of Volesius. He was a Confulary Man, above threescore Year of

and ten Years old, and of a Family from which Rome 259. the People had no reason to sear either Pride Liv. Dec.1. D. H. 1 6.

or Injustice

odi-

mon

d to

erty

Ten-

e to

two

Fa-

one

re-

of ich

p-

efe

he he

ch

ne ſe

of of

1-

•

r

The Dictator, Plebeian in his Inclination, named for General of the Horse Quintus Servilius, the Brother of him that had been Conful, and who was of Opinion like himself, that there was a great deal of Justice in the Peoples Complaints: He then convened a general Affembly. He appeared in it with a Countenance at once both Grave and Modest; and addressing himself to the People, he told them, that they need have no Apprehensions that either their Liberty or the Lex Valeria wou'd be in Danger under a Dictator of the Family of Valerius Pub-That he did not ascend his Tribunal to cheat them with false Promises; that indeed there was a necessity of marching against the Enemies who were advancing towards Rome, but that he wou'd engage in his own Name, and on the part of the Senate, to give them

full Satisfaction with relation to their Complaints at their return from the Campaign: "And in the mean while, says he, by the So-" vereign Power with which I am invested, I declare your Persons, your Lands, and your Goods to be perfectly free: I suspend the affect of all Obligations that might be made use of to give you trouble: Come and affift us to conquer new Lands from our Enemies

" for your use.

This Speech filled the People with Hopes and with Comfort. Every body took Arms with Pleasure, and ten Legions were raised compleat; three were given to each Consul, and the Dictator reserved four to himself. The Romans marched against the Enemy on different sides; the Volsci and the Sabines were defeated; the Equi sued for Peace, and did not obtain it without the loss of part of their Territory, which the Dictator divided among the poorest Citizens of Rome.

The Senate apprehending that the Soldiers at their return wou'd challenge of the Dictator the execution of his Promise, defired him and the two Consuls to detain the Soldier still under their Enfigns, upon pretence that the War was not quite finished. The two Confuls obeyed; but the Dictator, whose Authority was independent of the Senate, disbanded his Army. He declared his Soldiers free of the Oath they took when they lifted themselves; and as a new proof of his Affection to the People, he chose out of that Order four hundred of the most confiderable, whom he brought into that of the Knights. He then went to the Senate, and demanded that they wou'd disengage his word by a Senatus-Consultum, and abolish all the Debts.

Id ibid

Com-

ign:

50d, I

your the

nade

assist

mies

pes

rms

iled

ful, he

ffe-

de-

ot

er-

he

at

or

id

1-

r

-

The oldest Senators and the best Men, excepting only Appius, were for consenting to this demand. But the Faction of the Rich got the better, and they were backed by the young Senators, who looked upon all Proposals in fayour of the People, as so many diminutions of the Senate's Authority. There were even several that presuming upon the Dictator's extream good Nature, reproached him, that he fought by the vilest Methods the Applauses of a base Populace. His demand was rejected with great tumult; and he was made to understand, that if his Dignity did not fet him above the Laws. the Senate wou'd call him to an Account for disbanding his Army against the Senate's advice, while the Enemies of the Republic were still in Arms.

"I plainly perceive, fays that venerable old D. H. l. 6 " Man, that I am not agreeable to you: I

" am accused of being too popular; may the "Gods grant that all the Defenders of the

" Roman People, who shall rise hereafter, may

" be as moderate as I am! But expect not

"that I will deceive my Fellow-Citizens, who

" took up Arms upon my promise, and who " with the price of their Blood have triumphed

" over your Enemies. A foreign War, and " our Domestic Feuds were the occasion of

" the Republic's honouring me with the Di-

" Ctatorship. We now have Peace abroad,

" and I am hindered from establishing it at " home; thus my Power being grown useless

" I am resolved to abdicate this high Dig-

" nity. I had rather behold the Sedition as " a private Person than with the Title of Di-

" Ctator." Concluding with these words, he

left the Senate abruptly and convened an Af-

fembly of the People.

When the Assembly was formed, he appeared in it with all the Enfigns of his Dignity; he first returned the People thanks for the readiness with which upon his Orders they had taken Arms, and at the same time highly praifed the Valour and Courage, which they had shewn against the Enemies of the Com-"You, fays he, like good Cimonwealth. "tizens have performed your Duty. It were " now my turn to acquit my felf of the Pro-" mise I made you; but a Faction more pow-" erful than the Authority of the Dictator him-" self hinders the effect of my sincere Intentions. I am publickly called an Enemy to the Senate; my Conduct is censured; it is " laid to me as a Crime that I left you the "Spoils of our Enemies, and above all that " I absolved you from the Military Oath. I " know after what manner, in the strength of

" my Years, I shou'd have answered such In" juries: but they dispise an old Man of above

"threescore and ten, and as I am now past either revenging my self, or doing Justice

" to you, I freely throw up a Dignity in which I can do you no Service. If howe-

" ver any one of my Fellow-Citizens still con-

demns me for the inexecution of my Word,

46 I willingly put the small remains of Life, 46 which I have left, into his Hands; he may

deprive me of it, and I shall neither Mur-

" mur at it nor oppose it.

The People heard this discourse with no Sentiments but of Respect and Veneration: every body did him the justice he deserved, and he was conducted quite home to his House by

the

th

Af-

ap-

gnithe

they

ghly

hey

om-

Ci-

ere.

ro-

wn-

n-

to

is

le

at

I

f

the Multitude, with as many Praises as if he had pronounced the Abolition of the Debts. The People turned their whole Indignation against the Senate, which had so often deceived them. They now keep no further measures; the Plebeians affemble publickly, and the most violent Proposals are most agreeable to the Mul-The two Confuls, who still held the Soldiers engaged by their Oath, in concert with the Senate, marched into the Field, under pretence of News which they had caused to be brought, that the Enemies were making new Preparations. The People who perceived the Artifice, went not out of Rome without the utmost Fury; the hotter fort, rather than go any farther, were for murdering the Confuls, in order to free themselves at once from the Oath that bound them to their Command. But the wifeft among them, and those who were swayed by the fear of the Gods, having represented to them, that no Oath was worth making void by fuch a Crime, the Soldiers took another Method. They resolved to leave their Country, and fix themselves a new Settlement out of Rome. They immediately take up their Enfigns, change their Officers, and by the Advice and under the Conduct of a Plebeian named Sicinius Bel- Year of lutus, they retire, and incamp upon Mount Rome Velia situate three Miles from Rome, and since 259. called Mons Sacer.

A Desertion so general, and which looked like the beginning of a Civil War, gave great uneasiness to the Senate. They immediately set Guards at the Gate of the City, as well for its Security, as to hinder the rest of the Plebeians from joining the Malcontents. But

those

those who were laden with Debts, and the most Mutinous and Seditious escaped notwith-standing this Precaution; and Rome saw at her Gates a formidable Army made up of part of her own Citizens, and ready to turn their Arms upon those that remain'd in the City

upon those that remain'd in the City.

The Patricians divide themselves out into different tasks, some at the head of their Clients, and of such Plebeians as would not take part in the Sedition, secure the most advanced Posts; others intrench themselves at the Entrance of the City; the old Men undertake the desence of the Walls, and all appear equally vigorous and resolute.

The Senate after these precautions send a Deputation to the Malcontents to offer them a general Pardon, and exhort them to return into the City, or to their Ensigns. But this step taken too soon, and in the first heat of the Sedition, only served to encrease the Insolence of the Soldier. The Deputies were sent back contemptuously, with no other answer but, that the Patricians shou'd quickly find what Enemies

they had to deal with.

The return of these Envoys augmented the trouble in the City. The two Consuls, whose Magistrature was expiring, appointed the Assembly for the Election of their Successors; no body at so dangerous a time presented himself Candidate for that Dignity; several even resulted it. At length they obliged Posthumius Cominius and Spurius Cassius Viscelinus, both Consular Persons, to accept it, and the Senate pitched upon them, because they were equally agreeable to the Nobles and Plebeians, and because Cassius especially had always behaved himself very artfully between the two Parties.

Year of Rome 260, or 261.

The

the

ith-

her

t of

rms

dif-

nts.

part

ced

En-

ake

€-

em

rn

nis

he

ce

k

at

es

The first Care of the new Consuls was to convene the Senate to deliberate upon the most speedy and easy Methods of restoring Peace and Union amongst the several Orders of the State.

Menenius Agrippa a Consular Person, and illustrious for the integrity of his Manners, who was ordered to give his Opinion first, was for sending new Deputies to the Malcontents with full Power to conclude this ugly business, upon whatever conditions they shou'd think necessary for the good of the Republic. Some Senators thought it wou'd be a derogation to the Majesty of the Senate, to send another Deputation to Rebels, who had given such an unworthy reception to their first Messengers But Menenius urged, that this was no time to infift upon a vain Formality; that the preservation of the Republick, and an indispensable necessity to which the Gods themselves were forced to fubmit, obliged the Senate to court the People. That Rome, the Terror of her Neighbours was in a manner besieged by her own Citizens; that indeed they had as yet committed no act of Hostility, but that for this very reason they ought to prevent the beginning of a War, which cou'd not but be fatal to the State, let the fuccess be what it wou'd.

He added that the Sabines, the Volsci, the Equi and the Hernici, all irreconcileable Enemies of the Roman Name, wou'd already have joined the Rebels, if they had not perhaps thought it more proper to let the Romans weaken and destroy themselves by their own Divisions. That no great affishance was to be expected from their Allies; that the Nations of Campania and Tuscany were but of a doubtful

Faith,

Faith, and were always governed by Events; that they were not at all more secure of the Latins, a People jealous of the Superiority of Rome, and ever fond of Novelty. That the Patricians deceived themselves, if they hoped merely with the help of their Clients and Slaves, to withstand so many Domestick and Foreign Enemies, who wou'd join to destroy a

Power they abhorred.

D. H. I. 6. M. Valerius whom we spoke of just before, whose Mind was embittered against the Senate, added to what Menenius had faid, That every thing was to be feared from the fury of the Malcontents, most of whom had already abandoned the care of their Inheritances, and the cultivation of the Lands, as Men who had renounced their Country, and thought of nothing but establishing themselves elsewhere. That Rome wou'd become a Defart, and that the Senate by being too inflexible wou'd be the occasion of the loss of its chief Strength, by the necessary retreat of most of the Inhabitants. That if they had followed his advice during his Dictatorship, they might by the Abolition of the Debts have preserved Union and Peace among the several Orders of the State; but that they must not imagine the People, who had so often been cheated by the false promises of the Senate wou'd be satisfied now with that Abolition. That he was afraid the ill treatment they had received, wou'd make them demand strong Securities for the continuance of their Rights and Liberties. That they must needs confess, that most of the Plebeians were dispoiled of their Inheritances; that the poor Wretches were thrown into Chains like so many Criminals, and that they complained perhaps

nts;

the

of

the

ped

and

and

by a

ore,

ery

the

an-

he

ad

10-

re.

at

be

h,

a-

ce

d

7

haps with some Justice, that the Nobles and Patricians, contrary to the original Constitution of the State, studied nothing but how to make themselves Masters of the Government. the Creation of a Dictator, a modern invention of the Senate's, quite destroyed the purpose of the Lex Valeria, the Peoples refuge, and the Guardian of their Liberty. That this absolute Power intrusted in the Hands of a fingle Person, wou'd in time enable some Man to become the Tyrant of his Country; that these Innovations owed their rise to the imperious Maxims of Appius Claudius, and others of his Stamp, who feem'd to be wholly taken up with the Design of establishing the Dominion of the Nobles upon the ruins of the publick Liberty; and to reduce free Citizens to the vile condition of Subjects and Slaves to the Senate.

Appius arose when it was his turn to speak, D. H. 1. 6. and addressing himself to M. Valerius: "If you

66 had confined your felf, fays he, merely to speak

" your mind, without falling upon me so unjust-

" ly, you had not exposed your self to hear Truths,

"which may not be very agreeable to you.

But before I offer them to this Body, it is

" just I shou'd answer your Calumnies. Tell me, Valerius, where are the Romans that I

" have profecuted with the rigor of Justice,

" to oblige them to pay me what they owe me?

Name the Citizens that I have kept in

" Chains; go even to Mount Velia, and search

" among that crowd of Malcontents whether

"there is fo much as one that will fay, he left

" the City only for fear of being imprisoned

" by me Every body knows on the contrary,

" that I have used my Debtors like my Clients

" and Friends; that without confidering the " old Debt, I have freely affifted them again " in their necessities, and that as much as in " me lay, the Citizens were always free. Not " that I propose my Conduct as a rule for o-" thers; I will always contend for the Au-" thority of the Laws in favour of those that " apply to them. I am even convinced that " with regard to certain Debtors that spend " their Lives in Idleness and Debauchery, it is es as reasonable to make them pay, as it is no-" ble and generous to forgive poor Citizens " who are Peaceful and Laborious, but whose Misfortunes have reduced them to extream want: Such has been my Conduct, and fuch are the imperious Maxims with which I am " charged. But I have declared my felf a Fa-" vorer of the Great, fay they, and it is upon " my Counsels that they have possessed them-" felves of the Government. This Crime, Gen-" tlemen, added Appius turning towards the " chief of the Senate, I am guilty of in comco mon with you. The Government belongs " to you, and you are too wife to yield it up " to an unbridled Rabble, to that furious 66 Beast which hearkens to none but its Flatterers, but yet whose Slaves often become " their Tyrants; and this is what we ought " to apprehend from M. Valerius; who tho' he has no Credit in the Republick, but thro' the Dignities with which we have ho-" noured him, makes use of it now to ruin " our Laws, to change the form of our Go-"vernment, and to make himself by his a mean condescentions a way to the Tyranny. 66 You have heard his own words, and must have observed, that being better informed cc than

"than us of the pernicious designs of the Rebels, he gives you notice to prepare for new
pretensions; and under Colour of demanding security for the Liberty of the People,
he seeks nothing but to destroy that of the
Senate.

the

gain

s in

Vot

0-

Au-

hat

hat

end

t is

no-

ens

ofe

am

ch

mi

a-

on

n-

n-

ic

1-

zs

p

S

" Senate. "But to come to the chief point, upon which we meet this day. I fay then, that " it is striking at the very Foundation of a "State to change its Laws, and that it is impos-" fible to annul the contracts between private " Persons, without breaking the public Faith, " and ruining that original Contract, which " first formed Societies among Men. Will " you now grant to a Seditious Mob, who are " ready to turn their Arms against their Coun-" try, what you have often prudently refused " to quiet Citizens, and Soldiers that fought " beneath your Enfigns? Confider that you cannot recede from this Article of the Debts, " without opening a Door at the same time to of new Pretensions. E'er long the Leaders of " the Sedition, in concert with M. Valerius, " will demand that they may be allowed to "Intermarry with your Families. They will " afterwards want to be admitted into the " chief Dignities of the State. May the tu-" telary Gods of Rome grant, that the Go-" vernment do not at last fall wholly into the ". Hands of a base Populace, that will punish " you for your weakness, and banish you your " felves from your Country! It is endeavoured to terrify you with the Arms of the Rebels; but have not you their Wives and " Children in Hostage? Will they attack with " open Force, a City which incloses all that "they hold most dear? But I will grant that

"they have no more regard to the ties of "Blood, than to the Laws of the Government: " Have they the Generals, the Provisions, and "Mony necessary to maintain themselves in " fuch an Enterprize? What will become of "them during Winter, which is now ap-" proaching, without Bread, without Shelter, " and without daring to straggle for fear of " falling into our Hands? If they take refuge " among our Neighbours, will they not find "the Government there, as well as at Rome, " in the Hands of the Great? Can Rebels and "Run-aways expect to be placed in any other " condition, but that of wretched Slaves? But " perhaps it is feared that they will join their "Arms and beliege Rome, destitute of a suf-"ficient number of Inhabitants for her defence, " as if the strength of the Republick lay wholly " in the Rebels. Have we not amongst the Pa-" tricians a flourishing Youth, and full of Cou-" rage? Our Clients who are the foundest part of " the Republic, are they not like us, immoveably " faithful to her Interests? Nay, if occasion be, let us arm our Slaves, let us make them " a new People; them we shall find Obedient. "They have in our Service, and by our Exam-" ple, learnt to make War. How stoutly will "they fight, if Liberty is to be the reward of "their Valour? But if all these helps do not " yet seem sufficient, recall your Colonies. You "know by the last numbering of the People, "that the Republic has no less than a Hun-" dred and thirty Thousand Heads of Fami-" lies; there are scarce the seventh part of . " these among the Malcontents. To conclude, " rather than have the Law dictated to us by " these Rebels, grant the Latins the right of " Citizens

"Gitizens of Rome, which they have so long fued for. You will then see them immediately run to your Assistance, and you will want neither Soldiers nor Citizens. To reduce my Opinion to a sew words, I think we ought not to send Deputies to the Resident Fear or Uneasiness. If they return to their Duty, we ought to use them gently; but we shou'd pursue them Sword in Hand

" if they persist in their Revolt.

of

nt:

ind

in

of

ip-

er,

of

ge

nd

ne,

nd

er

ut

eir

ıf-

e,

ly

a-

u-

of

ly

n

m

t.

1-

111

of

ot

u

1-

f

,

15

An Advice so full of Resolution was followed, tho' thro' different views, by the Faction of the Rich, and by all the Young Senators. The two Consuls on the other hand, who were Plebeians by Inclination, and who courted the Affection of the multitude, and the old Men, naturally timorous, maintained, that Civil War was the greatest Calamity that cou'd befall a State. They were backed by such of the Senate as regarded only the preservation of the publick Liberty, and who doubted whether some ambitious and enterprizing Man might not arise even out of the body of the Senate, and by the help of these Divisions make himself sole Master of the Government. But scarce were they so much as heard; the place was filled with nothing but Clamour and Threatning. The youngest Senators, infolent upon account of their Birth. and jealous of the Prerogatives of their Rank, went even so far as to intimate to the Confuls, that they suspected them. They told them they represented the Person of Kings, that they had their Authority and that of the Senate to maintain against the Invasions of the People; and the more Violent declared, that if the least infult was offered to it, they wou'd take Arms to preserve to their Order a Power which they

had received from their Ancestors.

The two Consuls who were resolved to favour the People, after having conferred together in private, determined to give these hot Spirits time to grow cool, and for that purpose to put off the Decision of this great Affair to the next Assembly. They spent this Interval in gaining over those that had been most opposite to them; and particularly, in order to intimidate the young Senators, they threatned to deprive them of the right of Suffrage. As it had not

D. H. l. 6. them of the right of Suffrage. As it had not yet been fixed what Age was necessary to capacitate a Man to give his Voice in the Senate, the Confuls fent word to the younger Senators to behave themselves for the future with more Modesty in so venerable an Assembly, otherwise that they should find a way to exclude them, by fettling the Age requisite in a Senator. The young Senators understood this Language but too well, and as they were more afraid of lofing their Rank than their Honour, these Romans that seemed to be so Resolute and Couragious, crouch'd beneath the Menaces of the Confuls, and returned Answer, that they should always find them ready to come into their Sentiments. These two Magistrates then made use of another Artifice against the Faction of the Rich, who always obstinately opposed the Abolition of the Debts. They gave them to understand, that if in the next Assembly of the Senate they did not enter into measures more conformable to the common good of all the Citizens, they wou'd carry this Affair before the People; that they cou'd not without Injustice refuse them the Cognizance of it, according to what was practifed even under the Governey.

fa-

e-

ot

Ir-

ur

al

te

tc

ve

ot

a-

e,

rs

re

fe

n,

ne

ut

0-

0-

a-

n-

1-

i-

fc

10

)-

1-

re

re

ne

re

1-

-

e

Government of the Kings; and that if once the Assembly of the People had got it into their Hands, it was to be feared they wou'd carry their Authority further, and retaliate the ill usage they had suffered from the Patricians.

The Senators who had embraced Appius's Opinion with most warmth, plainly saw by the turn which the Confuls gave to this Affair, that it wou'd flip from them if they persisted in their first Intentions. The fear of falling into the Peoples hands staggered them; the Tears and Cries of the Women and Children who embraced their Knees, and begged of them their Fathers and their Husbands, finished the perswasion of them: And the Senate being convened again, the greater number declared for coming to an agreement. Appius, always immoveable in his Opinion, and incapable of changing it but by the force of Reason, remained almost alone in his opposition, with some few of his Relations, who out of decency cou'd not leave him.

The Consuls triumphed upon having brought the Senate, almost in spight of themselves, to come into their measures: Appius, who was persuaded that all manner of Negotiation with the Rebels tended to the diminution of the Senate's Authority, addressing himself to the two Consuls: "Tho' you seem resolved, says he to them, to treat with the People upon the Conditions they shall prescribe to you; and that even those who were of the contrary Opinion, have changed their Minds either thro' weakness or interest; for my part I declare once more, that indeed we cannot have too much regard for the Misery of a People faithful

" and Obedient; but I affirm that all manner of Negotiation is dangerous so long as they

continue in Arms.

As the Senate had taken their Resolution before, this Discourse was heard with Pain, and considered as that of a Man zealous indeed for the Senate's Glory, but too much opinionated of his own Abilities, and either out of Vanity, or the obstinacy of his Humour, incapable of ever

changing his Opinion.

The Senate, without giving any heed to it, named Ten Commissioners to treat with the Malcontents, and chose out of their own Body fuch as had always declared in favour of the People. T. Largius, Menenius Agrippa, and M. Valerius were at the Head of this Deputation, all three Consulars, and of whom two had governed the Republic, and commanded her Armies in quality of Dictators: They fet forward with their Colleagues towards the Campi. This great News was got thither before them: The Soldiers ran out in Crowds to receive their old Captains, under whom they had fought so many Battels. Shame and Rage were mingled in the Face of these Rebels, and there yet appeared thro' the public discontent a remainder of the former respect created by the Dignity of Command, especially when supported by great Merit.

The meer Presence of these great Men had been sufficient to bring back the Rebels to their Duty, if dangerous Spirits had not taken care

to keep up the Fire of Division.

Sicinius Bellutus, as we faid before, had gained the Confidence of these Soldiers; he was a Plebeian, very ambitious, but artful, a great Master at fomenting Discord, and one that expected

pected his own Advancement from the Troubles of the State. He was backed in his Defigns by another Plebeian named Lucius Junius, like the ancient Deliverer of Rome, tho' of a very different Family: Nay he affected the Sirname of Brutus, out of a ridiculous vanity of comparing himself with that illustrious Patrici-This Plebeian advised Sicinius to cross at first the Negotiation of the Deputies, and to create new Obstacles against Union and Peace, in order to find out what advantage they might get from it, and at what Price the other Party wou'd purchase it. " The Senate betray their " fear, says he: We are Masters, if we know " how to improve this opportunity: Let those " grave Magistrates speak what they have to say; "I will undertake to answer them in the Name " of our Comrades, and I hope what I shall say

ľ

1

C

f

t

d

ľ

will be equally useful and agreeable to them. These two Heads of the Plebeians being agreed upon the different Parts they were to act, Sicinius introduced the Deputies into the Camp. All the Soldiers flocked about them, and after they had taken their place where they cou'd be heard by the Multitude, they were told that they might give an account of their Commission. M. Valerius, speaking for the rest, D. H. I. 6, faid, that he brought them joyful News; that the Senate were pleased to forget their fault; that they were empowered to grant them even all the Favours that were compatible with the common good of their Country; that nothing now hinder'd them from returning into the City, revisiting their Houshold Gods, and receiving the Embraces of their Wives and Children, who fighed for their return.

Sicinius replied, that before the People confented to this, it was but Justice they themselves shou'd lay open their Grievances and Pretences, and know what they might hope from these fine Promises of the Senate; and at the same time he exhorted those of the Soldiers that wou'd defend the public Liberty to appear. But a prosound silence reigned in the Assembly: They stood looking at one another, and these Soldiers not being Masters of the Talent of Elocution, durst not take upon them to stand up for the common Cause. Then that Plebeian who had taken the Name of Brutus, arose as he had before agreed privately with Sicinius, and address'd himself to the Soldiers:

D. H. 1. 6. "One wou'd imagine, Fellow-Soldiers, fays " he, by this deep silence, that you are still " awed by the servile fear in which the Patri-" cians and your Creditors have so long retain-6 ed you. Every Man consults the Eyes of the " rest to see if he can perceive more Resolution in them than he finds in himself, and not one of you is bold enough to dare to speak in public, what is the constant Subject of co your private Conversations. Do you not know that you are free? This Camp, these "Arms, will not they convince you that you " are no longer under your Tyrants? And if " you still can doubt it, is not this step which the Senate has taken sufficient to satisfy you of it intirely? These Men, haughty and imce perious as they are, now come and court our "Friendship; they no longer make use either " of proud Commands, or cruel Threats; they " invite us as their Fellow-Citizens to return "into our common Country, and our Sove-" reigns condescend to come to our very Camp ee to

to offer us a general Pardon. Whence then " can proceed this obstinate silence, after such " fingular Condescentions? If you doubt the Sin-" cerity of their Promises; if you fear that under " the veil of a few fine Speeches they conceal " your former Chains, why do you not speak? "And if you dare not open your Mouths, at " least hear a Roman, who has Courage enough " to fear nothing but not speaking the Truth. Then turning to Valerius, "You invite us, " fays he, to return to Rome; but you do not " tell us upon what Conditions: Can Plebeians " poor, tho' free, think of being united with " Patricians fo Rich and fo Ambitious? And " even tho' we shou'd be agreed upon those " Conditions, what Security wou'd they give " us of their Words, those haughty Patricians, " who make a Merit in their Body of having " deceived the People? You talk to us of no-" thing but Pardon and Forgiveness, as if we " were your Subjects, and Subjects in Rebellion; but that is the Point to be decided. The " Question is which is in fault, the People or " the Senate; which of those two Orders first "violated that common Society which ought " to subsist between the Citizens of one and " the same Republic. "In order to judge of this without Preju-

"In order to judge of this without Prejudice, give me leave barely to relate a certain
number of facts, for which I will defire no
other Witnesses but your self and your Col-

" leagues.

"Our State was founded by Kings, and ne"ver was the Roman People more free and
"more happy than under their Government.
"Tarquin himself, the last of those Princes,
"Tarquin, so odious to the Senate and the NoG 4 bility,

66

bility, was as favourable to Us as he was averfe " to You. He loved the Soldiers, he had an " esteem for Valour, he was always for rewarding it; and every body knows that haco ving found immense Riches in Suessa, the " Capital of the Sabines, which he had taken, he chose rather to leave the Booty to his Army, than to appropriate it to himself; so that besides the Slaves, the Horses, the Corn, and the Houshold-stuff, there remained over and above to each Soldier five Mine of Silver. "Nevertheless, to revenge your Injuries we drove that Prince from Rome; we took Arms against a Sovereign that defended himself onis ly with the Prayers he made to us to leave your Interests, and to return to his Obedience. We afterwards cut to pieces the " Armies of Veii, and Tarquinia, which endeavoured to restore him to the Throne. "The formidable Power of Porsenna, the Famine that we were forced to undergo during " a long Siege, the fierce Assaults, the continual Battels; in a word, was any thing capable of shaking the Faith which we had given wyou? Thirty Latin Cities unite to restore the Tarquins; what wou'd you have done "then if we had abandoned you and joined " your Enemies? What Rewards might we not have obtained of Tarquin, while the Se-66 nate and Nobles wou'd have been the Victims of his Resentment? Who was it that dispersed this dangerous Combination? To whom are you obliged for the defeat of the Latins? Is it not to this very People, the Author of a Power which you have fince turned against them themselves? What Recompence have we had for the Affistance we in e-

1-

C

ı,

o

1,

e

gave you? Is the Condition of the Roman "People one jot the better? Have you affociated them in your Offices and Dignities? "Have our poor Citizens so much as found the least Relief in their Necessities? On the contrary, have not our bravest Soldiers, opor pres'd with the weight of Usury, groaned " beneath the Chains of their merciles Credi-" tors? What has come of all those vain Pro-" mises of abolishing in time of Peace the "Debts which the Extortions of the Great " had forced them to contract? Scarce was the "War finished, but you forgot equally our "Services, and your Oaths. With what de-" fign then do you come hither? Why do you "try to seduce this People by the Enchant-"ment of your words? Are there any Oaths " fo folemn as to bind your Faith? And after " all, what wou'd you get by a Union brought " about by Artifice, kept up with mutual Di-" strust, and which can end at last in nothing " but a Civil War? Let us on both fides avoid " fuch heavy Misfortunes; let us not lose the "Happiness of our separation; suffer us to de-" part from a Country where we are loaden " with Chains like fo many Slaves; and where " falling to be Farmers of our own Inheri-" tances, we are forced to cultivate them for " the profit of our Tyrants. We shall find a "Country where-ever we are allowed to live " in Liberty; and fo long as we have our "Swords in our Hands, we shall be able to " open our selves a way into more fortunate " Climates.

A Discourse so bold, renewed in the Assembly the melancholy remembrance of all those Miseries whereof the People complained; e-

very

very Man was eager to quote examples of the rigour of the Patricians; some had lost their Inheritances; others complained of having long fuffered in the Prisons of their Creditors; several showed yet the Marks of the stripes they had received; and there was not one that besides the general Interest, had not a particular Injury to revenge.

Idem.

T. Largius, the head of the Deputation, ibid.p.403. thought himself bound to answer all these Complaints, and he did it with that exact Equity and Uprightness, which was so natural to him. He faid, that it was not in their power to hinder Men who had lent their Mony with an honest Intention, from exacting the repayment of it; and that it was without example in any well regulated Government, that the Magistrate shou'd refuse the aid of the Laws to those that demanded it, so long as those Laws and Customs served for the rule in the Government. That nevertheless the Senate was willing to look into the necessities of the People, and to remedy them by new Regulations; but that it also became their Justice, to distinguish those, whose prudent conduct deserved the relief of the Commonwealth, from fuch as were fallen in Poverty only thro' their own Sloth and Intemperance; that those Seditious Men who feemed to make it their business to keep up the Division between the Senate and the People, were not more deserving of Favour, and that it wou'd be a very great advantage to the Republic to lose such Citizens.

T. Largius was going to proceed in a discourse more fincere, than convenient at the present conjuncture, when Sicinius, provoked at what he had faid in relation to the heads of the Se-

dition,

di

66

66 "

tł

"

66

(

he

ir

al

ad

ĊŚ

y

dition, cut him off abruptly, and addressing himself to the Assembly: "You now see, my "Companions, says he, by the haughty Speech of this Patrician, what you are to expect from his Negotiation, and what treatment is preparing for you at Rome, if the Senate can once draw you into their Power: And then turning immediately to the Deputies: "Propose directly, says he, the Conditions you are impowered to offer us for our return, or this instant leave our Camp, where we are not disposed to bear with you any longer.

Menenius, who well knew that fuch explications were only likely to exasperate the dispute, took upon him to speak, and addressing himself in his turn to the whole Assembly, he represented, that they were not come to the Camp only to justifie the Conduct of the Senate; that those wise Magistrates, studious for the Public Good, had carefully enquired into the unhappy Causes of their Divisions, and had found, that the extream Indigence of the Plebeians, and the Severity of their Creditors, was the true fource of them; that in order to redress this at once, they had determined by unanimous confent, and by the Sovereign Authority with which they were invested, to annul all Obligations, and to declare the poor Citizens free of all manner of Debts: And that as to those which might be contracted hereafter, Provision shou'd be made by a new Regulation to be agreed upon between the People and the Senate; that a Senatusconsultum shou'd afterwards pass conformable to that agreement, and be enacted into a Law; and that all the Commissioners in the Assembly shou'd engage their lives to the People, and

and devote themselves and Children to the Infernal Gods if they failed in their promise.

This prudent Magistrate finding the minds of the People soften'd by these Concessions, and defiring to lessen the jealousy that was between the Poor and the Rich, represented to them how necessary it was in a State, that one part of the Citizens shou'd be richer than another: and we are told that to inculcate this Maxim into that People, yet fierce and unpolisht, he made use of that famous Apologue of a Conspiracy of all the Members of the humane Body against the Stomach, under pretence that without working, he alone enjoyed the Fruit of the Labour of all the rest. After having applied it to the People and the Senate, he defired them to consider that that August Body, like the Stomach, conveyed thro' the several Members joined to it, the same nourishment that it received it felf, but much better prepared, and that to it alone they owed their Life and Strength. " Was it not the Patricians, added " he, that first stood up for the public Liberty? "To whom do you owe the Establishment of the " Republic? When Dangers threaten, on whom " do you turn your Eyes, and whence have always " proceeded those generous Counsels that have " faved the State? Nothing is more precious " to that wife Body than your Preservation " and Union. The Senate loves you all with " the reasonable Affection of a Father, but " without debasing it self to the treacherous "Fawnings of a Flatterer. You demand the " Abolition of the Debts; we grant it you: "But we grant it only because we think it " just, and necessary to the good of our Coun-"try. Return then with confidence into the " Bosom

T. Liv. Dec. 1. l. 2. c. 32. 6 Bosom of that common Mother, who has 6 educated us all in Sentiments equally gene-

rous and free. Receive our Embraces as the

first Fruits of Peace; let us enter all together into Rome; let us jointly carry thither

"the first news of our re-union, and may the

Gods who protect this Empire grant, that

" it may be hereafter celebrated by new Victo-

" ries over our Enemies.

he

0-

ds

15,

e-

m

rt:

m

10

1ly

1-

d

d

C

t

d

d

1

The People cou'd not hear this moving Speech without shedding Tears; all the Plebeians as with one Voice cried out to Menenius, that they were fatisfied, and that he might lead them back to Rome. But the pretended Brutus, that had just before spoken so sharply against the Senate, stopped this sudden heat. He told the People, that in truth they ought at present to be satisfied with the Abolition of the Debts; but that he cou'd not forbear letting them know that he was very apprehenfive for the future; and that he feared the Senate wou'd one day take revenge for the Justice they had been forced to do them, unless, added he, ways be found to secure the State and the Liberties of the People against the enterprizes of fo ambitious a Body.

What other Security can you ask, replied Menenius, besides what our Laws and the

"Constitution of the Republic afford already?

"Grant us, answered Brutus, two Officers to be chosen out of the Order of the Plebeians.

"We do not ask that they should be distinguished by the honourable Marks of the

"Magistracy, neither with the Robe bordered with Purple, nor the Curule Chair, northe

" Lictors. We are willing to leave all that

" Pageantry to Patricians proud of their Birth or

" Dignities;

"Dignities; we shall be contented if we may every Year elect two Plebeians, that may

"only have Authority to hinder the Injustices that may be done to the People, and to de-

" fend their Interests both publick and private.
"If you came hither with a fincere Intention

" to give us Peace, you cannot reject fo Equi-

" table a Proposal.

The People, who are always of the Opinion of him that speaks last, immediately applauded what Brutus had said. The Deputies were extreamly surprised at such a demand; they retired a little apart from the Assembly to confer together, and being returned to it, Menenius told them, that they asked a very extraordinary thing, and which in time might even be the source of new Dissentions; that it absolutely exceeded the bounds of their Instructions and Powers; but that M. Valerius and he wou'd go and make their report of it to the Senate, and that it wou'd not be long before they returned with an answer.

These two Commissioners repaired with all speed to Rome; the Senate was immediately convened, and they laid open the Peoples new Pretensions. M. Valerius declared himself their Protector; he represented that they shou'd not think to govern a Warlike People, that was both Soldier and Citizen at the same time, as they might rule peaceable Subjects that had never stirred from their Fire-sides. That War and a continual exercise of Arms inspired a kind of Courage, which cou'd not bear the service dependance which was expected from these brave Men: That indeed it was but Justice to have the most particular regards for a generous People, that had rooted out Ty-

ranny

TA

it

th

fu

al

n

if

t

ranny with the expence of their Blood; that it was his Opinion, they ought to grant them the Officers they demanded; and that perhaps such Inspectors might not be altogether useless in a free State, to have an Eye over those among the Great, that might some time or other be tempted to carry their Authority too far.

ay

ay

ees

e-

c.

n

ú-

i-

)-

:5

y

1-

-

-

n

l

Appius cou'd not hear such a Speech without burning with Indignation. He called both Gods and Men to be Witnesses of all the mischiefs that fuch an Innovation in the Government wou'd bring upon the Republic; and as if his Zeal and Rage had inspired him, he foretold the Senate, that by this excess of condescention they were suffering a Tribunal to be fet up, which by degrees wou'd rife against their Authority, and at length destroy it. But this generous Senator was little minded, and his Remonstrances looked upon as only the Spleen of a Man obstinately wedded to his own Opinion, and out of humour that it was not followed. The other fide prevailed; most of the Senators, weary of these Divisions, were willing to have Peace at any rate; thus almost with an universal consent they agreed to the Creation of these new Magistrates, who were called Tribunes of the People.

A Senatusconfultum was made accordingly, which at the same time included the Abolition of the Debts; the Deputies of the Senate carried it to the Camp as the Seal of Peace. The People now seemed to have nothing to detain them longer out of Rome; but the Leaders of the Sedition wou'd not allow them to separate before they elected the new Magistrates of the People. The Assembly was held in the very

Camp;

Camp; the Commissioners presided in it on the part of the Senate; the Auspices were taken; the Voices and Suffrages were gathered by Curia, and they elected two Tribunes, who either at the same time, or soon afterwards, asfociated three others into their Office. Brutus and Sicinius were the first Romans that attained to this Dignity; but as they dreaded the Senate's refentment, and knew that Policy rarely forgives the Movers of a Sedition, they had the skill to interest the whole Nation in their defence. The People before they left the Camp by their Advice declared the Person of their Tribunes Sacred; a Law was pass'd to that effect, which made it Death to do the least violence to a Tribune, and all the Romans were obliged to take the most solemn Oaths for the Observation of this Law; the People then Sacrificed to the Gods upon that very Mountain, afterwards called the Mons Sacer, from whence they returned into Rome, led by their Tribunes and the Deputies of the Senate.

24 OC 62

End of the First Book.

THE



on rered red rho afitus ned

Scely

he denp eir

ef-

re he a-

n,

is

THE

HISTORY

OFTHE

REVOLUTIONS

That happened in the Government

OF THE

ROMAN REPUBLICK.

BOOK II.

The Tribunes of the People, who had been created only to hinder the Plebeians from being oppressed, endeavour to destroy the Authority of the Senate. The Origin of the Plebeian Ædiles. In what manner the Tribunes obtained a Right to convene the Assembly of the People. Coriolanus declares loudly against the Enterprizes of the Tribunes. The Character of that Patrician. The Tribunes require him to answer for his Conduct

dust before the Assembly of the People. riolanus refuses to acknowledge the Authority of that Tribunal. The Senate at first interposes in his favour, but at length abandons him, and grants a Decree to refer the decision of this difference to the Assembly of the People. Coriolanus is condemned to perpetual Exile. He retires among the Volsci, whom he prevails upon to take Arms against the Romans. He enters their Dominions at the Head of a numerous Army. Every thing gives way before him: Rome her self was upon the brink of the most dreadful Calamities, when she is freed from the danger by the Wisdom and Prudence of two Roman Ladies among others, one the Wife, and the other the Mother of Coriolanus.

OME, by the Establishment of the Tribuneship, changed the Form of her Government a fecond time. It had passed before, as we have already feen, from the Monarchic State

to a kind of Aristocracy, where the whole Authority was in the Hands of the Senate and the Great. But by the creation of the Tribunes there arose insensibly, and by slow steps, a Democracy, wherein the People, under different pretences, got possession of the better part of the Government.

The Senate at first seemed to have no occafion to apprehend any danger from the Tribunes, who had no power but to interpose in the Defence of the Plebeians. Nay those new Magistrates had at first neither the Quality of Senators, nor a particular Tribunal, nor any Jurisdiction over their Fellow-citizens, nor the Power of calling the Assemblies of the People.

Habited

Habited like mere private Men, and attended by one fingle Servant called Viator, which was indeed little different from a Footman, they fat upon a Bench without the Senate, and were never admitted into it but when the Confuls called them in to ask their Opinion upon some Affair that concerned the Interests of the People. Their whole Authority confifted in a Right to oppose the Decrees of the Senate by the Latin word Veto, that is to fay, I forbid it; which they wrote at the bottom of the Decree, when they thought it contrary to the Liberty of the People; and this Power was confined within the Walls of Rome, or at most to a Mile round: And that the People might always have in the City Protectors ready to take their part, the Tribunes were not allowed to be absent from the City any one whole Day, except in the Feriæ Latinæ. For the same reafon they were obliged to keep their Doors open Day and Night to receive the Complaints of fuch Citizens as shou'd stand in need of their Such Magistrates seemed designed Protection. only to prevent the oppression of the unhappy; but they did not long contain themselves within the bounds of fo much Moderation. There was nothing afterwards fo great and exalted to which they did not raise their ambitious Views. We shall quickly see them stand in competition with the chief Magistrates of the Republic; and under pretence of securing the Liberties of the People, they indeed concealed a defign of ruining the Authority of the Senate.

One of the first Steps of these Tribunes was to ask permission of the Senate to chuse two Plebeians that, with the Title of Ædiles, might assist them in the multitude of Affairs with

H 2

which

which they faid they were overloaded in fo great a City as Rome, and especially in the beginning

of a new Magistracy.

The Senate, always divided, and having lost fight of the fix'd point of their Government, suffered themselves to be carried away just as these ambitious Men pleased; this new demand also was granted them. Such was the Origin of the Plebeian Ædiles, the Creatures and Ministers of the first Tribunes; and at the beginning they were only their Agents, but afterwards they took to themselves the inspection of the publick Edifices, the care of the Temples, Baths, Aqueducts; and the cognizance of a great many Affairs which before belonged to

D. H. l. 6 the Confuls: a new breach made by the Tri-

bunes in the Senate's Authority.

However, the more popular Senators hoped that by yielding up fomething of their Right, they had at least given quiet to the Republic. And indeed Rome appeared to be in repose, and the Union of the People and Patricians seemed to be sincere and durable. But the fire of Division, which lay hid at the bottom of

Oros. 1. 2. their Hearts, was not long before it flamed out c. 5. afresh: A Famine that happened the following Year, under the Consulship of T. Geganius, and Rome 261. P. Minutius, served the Tribunes for a pretence

to fall again upon the Grandees and the Senate.

D. H. 1. 7. Sp. Icilius was this Year the first of the Tribunes, and Brutus and Sicinius, to keep themselves still at the Head of Affairs, were descended from the Tribuneship to the Office of Adiles. Those Seditious Men, whose credit subsisted only by the misunderstanding they fomented between the Orders of the Commonwealth, maliciously gave out, that the Patri-

cians

cians having their Granaries full of Corn, had occasioned the publick Dearth in order to make up to themselves the Abolition of the Debts, by the excessive Price at which they shou'd sell it; that this was a new kind of Usury invented by these Tyrants, with intent to get at an inconsiderable rate the little Land that was

still left to the poor Plebeians.

Nevertheless those Tribunes cou'd not but know, that the People themselves, and their desertion upon the Mons Sacer at the time for sowing the Corn, was the cause of this Scarcity, because in that general disorder, where most of the Malcontents had thoughts of settling elsewhere, the Lands remained uncultivated and unsown. But these Dealers in Sedition studied for nothing but Pretences; they were very well assured, that let them be ever so improbable, they wou'd pass for the most solemn Arguments with a Populace that wanted Bread; and they decried the Government only to make themselves Masters of it, or at least to change it according to their own Interests.

The Senate used no Arms against these In-D. H. 17. vectives, but a constant and generous Care, and P. 4.7. a continual Application to provide for the Peoples Necessities. They bought up Corn on all

sides; and because the Nations bordering upon Rome, who were jealous of her Greatness, refused to surnish them, they were forced to send for it as far as from Sicily. P. Valerius, Son of the samous Publicola, and L. Geganius, Brother to the Consul, were sent with this Commis-

fion.

However, as the Tribunes continued to spread disadvantageous Reports of the Senate's Conduct with design to raise the Multitude, the H 2 Consuls

People.

Confuls convened an Affembly of the People to undeceive them, and to let them fee by the care that had been taken of their Subfiftence, the Injustice and Malice of their Tribunes. These latter disputed with them for the right of speaking; and as in this Contest both Parties spoke at the same time, neither of them was heard. They represented in vain to the Tribunes, that they had no Power to talk directly to the People, and that their whole Function confifted in the right of Opposition, when some Offer had been made to the People contrary to their Interests: These retorted upon the Confuls, that the Senate was the only place where they had any business to prefide; and obstinately maintained, that it belonged to them, preferably to all other Ma-Id. p. 410. gistrates, to speak in the Assemblies of the

These mutual Pretensions increased the Tumult; the Dispute grew warmer and warmer, and the hottest in each Party were just ready to come to blows; when Brutus, who was but Ædile this Year, as we said before, thought this disorder a favourable opportunity for extending the Authority of the Tribunes, and addressing himself to the two Consuls, he promised them to appease the Tumult if they would give him

The Consuls who in this Permission intreated of them by a *Plebeian* in presence of his Tribunes, found a new proof of their right to preside in all Assemblies of the *Roman* People, consented he shou'd freely speak whatever he

leave to speak in publick,

thought fit, not doubting but that as he knew the Name of an Assembly of the People took in the Senators and Knights as well as the Ple-

beians,

beians, he wou'd bring the Tribunes off from their Pretensions of presiding in them. Brutus had very different Thoughts, and inflead of addreffing himself either to the People or the Tribunes, he turned to the Conful Geganius, who had been one of the Commissioners that the Senate sent to the Mons Sacer: "Do you re-" member, fays he, that when we laboured " jointly to bring the two Orders of the Re-" publick to an Agreement, no Patrician in-" terrupted those that were appointed to take " care of the Interests of the People, nay, and " that it was expresly stipulated that it shou'd " be so, to the intent that each Party might " fet forth their Reasons with the more Order " and Tranquility? I remember it very well " replied Geganius. Wherefore then, continued Brutus, do you now interrupt our Tribunes, " whose Persons are Sacred, and who are in-" vested with a publick Magistracy? We in-" terrupt them justly, answered Geganius, 66 because having our selves convened the As-" fembly, according to the Privilege of our " Dignity it belongs to us to speak. The Conful added too rashly, and without thinking of the Consequences, That if the Tribunes had convened the Affembly, he wou'd have been so far from interrupting them, that he wou'd not so much as come to hear what they faid, tho' merely as a Roman Citizen be had a right to be present at all Assemblies of the People.

Brutus no fooner heard these last words, but he cried out in a transport of Joy, "The Victory is yours, O Plebeians; Tribunes, give way to the Consuls; let them speak to Day as much as they please, to Morrow I will show you what the Dignity and Power

H 4 " of

"your Office is; only take care, that the Peo"ple repair hither betimes in the Morning by
"your Orders, and by your Convoking: If I
"abuse their Confidence and yours, I am rea"dy to expiate these rash Promises with the

" forfeit of my Life.

The Assembly was forced to break up, Night coming on during these Contentions; the People went away impatient to see the effect of Brutus's Promises; and the Patricians retired on their Parts, despising the Boasts of a private Man, unable as they thought to give any greater extent to the Function of Tribune, than the single Privilege of Opposition that had

been granted upon the Mons Sacer.

But Brutus, more cunning than the Senate imagined, went to the Tribune Icilius; he spent part of the Night in consulting with him, and his Colleagues, and he let them into his Defigns. "All we have to do, fays he to them, is to convince the People that the "Tribuneship can be of no manner of use to "them, unless the Tribunes have power to convene the Assemblies, in order to repre-" fent to them whatever may concern their "Interests; the People will never refuse to " pass a Law which cannot but be advantagecous to them; all the difficulty lies in pre-" venting the Senate and Patricians that might " oppose it: For this purpose we must hold "the Assembly as early as possible, and pos-" sess our selves betimes of all the Avenues " to the Rostrum. His Colleagues having approved his Scheme, fent into the feveral parts of the City to follicite the chief of the People to repair to the Forum by break of Day, with as many of their Friends as they cou'd

cou'd possibly get together. The Tribunes on their parts were there before Morning, and according to Brutus's Advice, took Possession of the Temple of Vulcan, where those who intended to speak usually placed themselves. An innumerable Multitude of People had quickly crowded the Forum. Icilius took upon him to speak: and in order to revive the bitterness and animofity in Mens Minds, he began with fumming up all that the People had suffered from the Avarice and Inhumanity of the Great, before the Establishment of the Tribuneship. He then represented, that the Public Misery wou'd never have had an end, if two Citizens had not been found, that had Courage enough to stand up against the Tyranny of the Patricians. That after the Abolition of the Debts, those Patricians had taken advantage of the Famine, to bring the People once more into Slavery, and that they endeavoured to hinder the Tribunes from speaking in the Assemblies, for fear they shou'd give the People light into their true Interests. That this open Tyranny render'd the Tribuneship of no effect; and that the People must either of their own accord renounce that Magistrature, or by a new Law give Authority to their Magistrates to convene Assemblies, to deliberate concerning their Rights, and that then it shou'd be unlawful upon the severest Penalties to interrupt or diffurb them in the execution of their Office.

This Discourse was received as usual with great Applauses. The People immediately cried out that he shou'd propose the Law himself. He had prepared it the Night before, and had taken care to get it ready, for fear that if they

were

were obliged to defer the Publication of it till the next Assembly, the Senate and Patricians wou'd be there to oppose it. He read it aloud, and it was conceived in these terms.

Year of Rome₂62. D. H. p. 43¹,432.

"That no Man be so audacious, as to interrupt a Tribune that is speaking in the Asseef sembly of the Roman People. If any one break this Law, he shall presently give Bail

" to pay the Fine, to which he shall be Condemned: If he refuses, he shall be put to

" Death, and his Goods confiscated.

The People gave Force to this Law by their Suffrages. The Confuls having shewn an Intention to reject it, alledging that it was a Law procured by furprize, and in an Assembly made by flealth, without Auspices, and without being called by any lawful Authority; the Tribunes resolutely declared that they wou'd have no more respect to the Decrees of the Senate. than the Senate should have for this Plebiscitum. This was the Subject of many Disputes, which were managed with nothing but Reproaches on each fide, but without ever coming to Acts of Violence. At length the Senate, like a good Father, gave way to the obstinacy of the Plebeians, whom it always looked upon as its Children. The Law was received with a general confent of the two Orders; the People satisfied with having increased the Power of their Tribunes, bore the Famine patiently; and still retained so much Equity in their diffress, as to pay a Veneration to those Great Men, that had withstood them with so much Courage and Firmness.

The City remained for some time in quiet; but Plenty produced what Famine cou'd not; and a Fleet laden with Corn, which arrived upon the Roman Coast, gave the Tribunes a

new

new occasion of extending their Power, and

of rekindling Sedition.

P. Valerius and L. Geganius, whom the Senate had employed to go to Sicily, as we faid before, returned with a great number of Ships laden with Corn, under the Consulate of M. Minutius and A. Sempronius. Gelo the Tyrant rear of of Sicily had made a Present of the greater Rome part of it, and the Envoys of the Senate had 262. bought the remainder with the Public Mony: The question now was, what Price to set upon it; the Tribunes were called into the Senate to give their Opinion; those Senators whose only aim was to restore a perfect intelligence between the People and the Senate, were for distributing Gratis among the Poor that Corn which they owed to the liberality of Gelo, and for felling at a moderate rate that which they had bought with the public Treasure. But when it came to Coriolanus's turn to speak. that Senator, to whom the Institution of the Tribuneship was odious, maintained that this condescention in the Senate to the Necessities of the People only encouraged them in their Insolence; that they shou'd never keep them to their Duty any longer than they were in indigence, and that the time was now come to avenge the Majesty of the Senate, violated by a seditious Multitude, whose Leaders with an Addition of Guilt had extorted Dignities for themselves, as a reward for their Rebellion. It was thus this Senator declared himself in the very presence of the Tribunes.

But before we proceed to the consequences of this Affair, I think it will be absolutely necessary to give some further knowledge of a Man, that is to act so great a part in this pas-

lage

The History of the Revolutions

fage of our History, and whose Fortune was more Glorious than Happy.

Plut. in Coriol.

Caius Martius Coriolanus descended from a Daughter of Numa Pompilius the Second King of Rome. He received the Sirname of Coriolanus for having taken, Sword in Hand, Corioli one of the chief Towns of the Volsci. Having lost his Father in his Infancy, he was educated with great care by his Mother Veturia, a Woman of austere Virtue, who had omitted no Methods to inspire her own Sentiments into her Son.

Coriolanus was wife, frugal, difinterested, of a strict Probity, and an inviolable Adherer to the Observation of the Laws. With these Virtues of Peace, there never was known a more exalted Valour, or fuch a capacity for the Art of War; he seemed to have been born a General; but he was harsh and imperious in his Command; as severe to other Men as to himself; a generous Friend, an implacable Enemy; too haughty for a Republic. Satisfied with the uprightness of his own Intentions, he went on directly to what was Good, without making use of that Art, and those Infinuations which are so necessary in a State founded upon Equality and Moderation. He had demanded the Consulship the preceding Year, and most of the Senators being of Opinion that so great a Captain wou'd do very fignal Services to the State, if he were invested with that Dignity, had used their Interest in his Favour. This recommendation of the Great was a sufficient impediment in the minds of the People. The Tribunes, who dreaded the extraordinary Courage and great Firmness of Coriolanus, had represented to the People the Sollicitations of the Senate Senate as a private Conspiracy against their Order, which had made the People resuse him their Voices. This denial he laid extreamly to Heart; and he conceived the sharpest resentment of it, which he shewed upon this occasion. "If the People, said he in sull Senate, expect to have a share in our Liberalities, if they think to have Provisions at a mode-rate Price, let them restore to the Senate its Ancient Rights, and wipe out the very Footsteps of the last Seditions. Why must

"I behold in the Forum, and at the Head of the People, Magistrates unknown to our

" Fathers, forming within our Walls as it Liv. Dec. 1.

"were two different Republicks? Shall I suffer a Sicinius, a Brutus to reign imperiously in Rome, I that cou'd not indure to see her ruled by Kings? Shall I be forced to look with Fear upon Tribunes, that owe their

"Power to nothing but our Weakness? Let us no longer bear so great an Indignity; but let us restore to our Consuls the just Au-

"thority, which they ought to have over all that call themselves by the Roman Name.

" If Sicinius is discontented at this, let him D. H. l. 7.

"retire once more with those Rebels that feed his Insolence and support his Tyranny. The Way of the Mons Sacer is still open to him; we want no Subjects, but what are Obedient and Peaceful, and we had much better

" be without them, than share the Government and Dignities of the State with a vile

" Rabble.

The oldest Senators, and those especially who had managed the last Accommodation, thought this vehement Speech more Haughty than Prudent. The young Senators, on the contrary,

contrary, who did not foresee the Consequences of it, gave it the highest Commendations. All, Admirers of Coriolanus's Virtue, cried out that he was the only Man that had the Courage of a true Roman: They repented and were ashamed of the consent they had given to the erection of the Tribuneship, as a scandalous piece of Cowardice: They talked openly of Abolishing it; and the Majority were for re-establishing the Government upon its Ancient Foundations.

Id ibid.

The Tribunes, whom the Confuls had fent for into the Senate, as we faid before, feeing this Conspiracy against their Order, went out in the greatest Fury, publickly invoking the Gods, who were Avengers of Perjury, and calling them to bear Witness of the Solemn Oaths by which the Senate had given Authority to the Establishment of the Tribuneship. They affembled the People tumultuously, and cried aloud from the Rostrum, that the Patricians had made a League to destroy them, their Wives and Children, unless the Plebeians delivered their Tribunes chained into the Hands of Coriolanus; that he was another Tyrant rifing up in the Republic, and aimed either at their Deaths or Slavery.

The People take fire immediately; they utter a thousand confused Cries full of Indignation and Threats. Rome, but just delivered from one Tumult, beholds another Sedition approaching more dangerous than the former. No body thinks now of retiring upon the Mons Sacer; the People, who had made a tryal of their Strength, intend to dispute the Empire of Rome with the Patricians in the middle of Rome it self: They talk of no less than

going

going directly and tearing Coriolanus out of the Senate, to facrifice him to the public Hatred. But the Tribunes, who were for a more fecure way of destroying him, that is to fay, by pretending to observe the Forms of Justice, fent him a Summons to come and answer for his Conduct before the Assembly of the People; thinking by this means, that if he obeyed, they shou'd be the Masters and Arbiters of the life of their Enemy; or that they shou'd make him more odious to the People, if he refused to acknowledge their Authority.

Coriolanus, naturally Proud and Resolute, having fent back their Officer with Contempt, as the Tribunes forefaw he wou'd, these latter immediately went with a Gang of the most Mutinous among the Plebeians, and waited for him at the Door of the Senate, in order to feize him when he shou'd come out. They met him attended as usual with a crowd of his Clients, and a great number of young Senators who had a respect for his Person, and thought it an Honour to follow his Opinion in the Senate, and his Example in War. The Tribunes no fooner faw him, but they ordered Brutus and Icilius, who this Year performed the Office of Ædiles, to carry him to Prifon. But it was not easy to execute such a Commission. Coriolanus and his Friends stand upon their Defence. They beat back the Ædiles with their Fifts: No other Arms were uibid. 1. 7. fed in those Days, in a City where the Inhabitants never put on the Sword, but when they marched out against the Enemy. The Tribunes enraged at this refistance called the People to their Aid; the Patricians on their side run to

the

the affiliance of one of the most illustrious of their Body. The Tumult increases; they fall to Abuses and Reproaches. The Tribunes complain that a mere private Man shou'd dare to violate a facred Magistracy. The Senators in their turn demand by what Authority they presume to arrest a Senator, and a Patrician of an Order superior to the People, and whether they meant to set themselves up for Tribunes of the Senate, as they were of the People. During these Contentions the Consuls came in and dispersed the Multitude; and as much by Intreaties as Authority prevailed upon

the People to retire.

But the Tribunes did not stop here; they convened the Assembly for the next Morning. The Confuls and Senate, who faw the People run to the Forum at the very break of Day, repaired thither too with all diligence, to prevent the ill designs of these seditious Magistrates, and to hinder them from bringing the People whom they governed to take some hasty Resolution contrary to the Dignity of the Senate, and the Safety of Coriolanus. Their Presence did not keep those Tribunes from inveighing, as usual, against the whole Order of Patricians. Then turning the Accusation against Coriolanus, they reported the Words he had spoke in the Senate relating to the distribution of the Corn.

They also urged as another Crime in him, the great number of Friends, which his Virtue drew about his Person, and whom the Tribunes call'd the Tyrant's Guard. "It was by his Order, said they, addressing themselves to the People, that your Ædiles were insulted.

" He

"He fought by those first blows only to engage us in a quarrel; and if we had not
hewn more Moderation than he, perhaps a
Civil War might have armed your Citizens
one against another. After having spent
themselves in Invectives to make Coriolanus
more odious to the People, they added, that
if there was any Patrician who wou'd undertake his Desence, he might mount the Rostrum

and speak to the People.

Minutius the first Consul offered himself; Idem 1. 7. and after having complained in general, with abundance of Moderation, of those who catch'd at the least pretence to foment new disturbances in the Republic; he remonstrated to the People, that there was fo far from being any ground of accusing the Senate and Patricians of having caused the Famine, that every body knew that Calamity was occasioned only by the defertion of the People, and by the fault of those, who the Year before had neglected to cultivate and fow their Lands. That he might with the same ease destroy the other Calumnies, with which their Ears were fill'd by feditious Harangues, as that the Senate had laid a design to abolish the Tribuneship, and to cause the whole People to perish by Famine. That in order to efface at once a Report fo false and injurious, he declared to them that D. H. 1.7. the Senate, in which refided the lawful Authority of the Republic, again confirmed the Power of the Tribunes, with all the Privileges that had been granted to them upon the Mons Sacer: That as to the distribution of the Corn, they made the People Judges and Masters of that matter, to fix what Price upon it they themselves thought fit.

The

The Confulafter a Preamble fo well adapted to the foftening the Minds, and winning the good Will of the People, added by way of a mild Reproach, that he cou'd not help blaming them for the Precipitation with which they suffered themselves to be carried away by the first Reports that were spread by some particular Incendiaries. That it was strange they shou'd go about to make the different Opinions that were offered, a Crime in the Senate, even before any thing was decreed. " Remem-" ber, fays he, that in your retreat upon the " Mons Sacer, your whole Wishes, Petitions " and Prayers were to obtain the Abolition " of the Debts. Scarce had you received fo great " a Favour, but you made your felves a kind of " new right from the Easiness of the Senate, to de-" mand the Creation of two Magistrates of your " own Body, whose whole Authority by your " own Confession was to be confined to the "hindering a Patrician from oppressing a " Plebeian: A new Grant, for which you re-" turned the greatest Thanks, and which " feemed to give you full content. In those " troublesome times, even when the Sedition " was at the highest, you never thought of " requiring a Diminution of the Senate's Au-" thority, or an Alteration in the Form of our "Government. By what Right then do your "Tribunes now pretend to carry their Inspe-" ction, and give their censure upon what pas-" fes in our deliberations? When till now was a "Senator ever treated as a Criminal, for hav-" ing spoke his Mind freely in the Senate? "What Laws give you Authority to profe-" cute his Exile or his Death, as you do with " so much animosity? But I will suppose that

with an unheard-of subversion of all Order, " the whole Body of the Senate is accounta-" ble to your Tribunes. Let us further supof pose that Coriolanus has let slip some words " too harsh in delivering his Opinion; are you 66 not obliged in Equity to forget a few mere words that were lost in Air, in favour of his real Services, of which you your felves " have gathered all the Fruit? Save the Life " of fo excellent a Citizen, fave fo great a " Captain for your Country; and if you will " not acquit him as Innocent, at least give him 46 as Criminal to the whole Senate, who in-66 treat this Favour of you by my Mouth. This " will be the Bond which uniting us more " closely than ever, will be a new Motive to " the Senate to continue their benefits towards "you. Whereas if you perfift in your Reso-66 lution of destroying this Senator, perhaps " the opposition you may meet with from the " Patricians may produce Calamities that may " make you repent of having pushed your Re-" fentment too far.

This Discourse made an impression upon the Multitude, and brought them to an Inclination for Peace and Union. Sicinius was furprifed and confounded at this turn: but diffembling his ill Designs, he gave great Praises to Minutius and all the Senators, for having been pleafed to condescend so far as to account to the People for their Conduct, and for not having difdained to interpose their Prayers and good Offices in favour of Coriolanus. Then turning to that Senator: " And you, excellent Citice zen, fays he in an ironical tone, will you " not still defend before the People that Ad-" vice fo useful to the Public, which you pro-" posed I 2

- r r - a - ? - h

" posed so boldly in the Senate? Or rather, " why have you not recourse to the Clemency " of the Roman People? It is likely Coriola-66 nus thinks it below his Courage to debase " himself so far, as to ask Pardon of those " whom he thought to destroy. The artful Tribune spoke to him in this manner, because he was perswaded that a Man of Coriolanus's Character, who was incapable of stooping or changing his Opinion, wou'd provoke the People afresh by the Haughtiness of his Anfwers. He was not deceived in his hopes; for Coriolanus was fo far from owning himself guilty, or endeavouring to pacify the People, as Minutius had done, that on the contrary, he quite destroyed the effect of that Consul's Speech, by an ill-timed Resoluteness, and by the harshness of his Expressions. He inveighed more violently than ever against the enterprizes of the Tribunes, and declared that nothing but a Senatusconsultum cou'd oblige a Patrician and a Senator to answer before an Assembly of the People, for an Opinion which he had delivered in the Senate: But that if any Man was offended at what he had faid, he might fummon him before the Confuls and the Senators, whom he acknowledged for his Natural Judges, and before whom he shou'd be always ready to give an Account of his Behaviour.

The young Senators, charmed with his Intrepidity, and overjoyed to have a Man that durft speak openly what they all thought, cried out, that he had advanced nothing but what was conformable to the Laws: But the People, who thought themselves despised, resolved to make him feel their Power. They immediately ately gave him his Tryal as a Rebel, and a Citizen that refused to acknowledge the Authority of the Roman People. Sicinius, after having consulted apart with his Colleagues, without so much as giving himself the trouble to collect the Voices of the Assembly, pronounced Sentence of Death upon him, and ordered him to be thrown down from the Tarpeian Rock; a Punishment which they inflicted upon the Disturbers of their Country.

The Ædiles, who were the usual Ministers of all the Violences of the Tribunes, drew near to lay hold of his Person; but the Senate and all the Patricians in the Assembly ran to his assistance; they placed him in the midst of D. H. 1. 7? them, and making Arms of whatever their Plut. in Indignation and Rage offered to them, they feemed resolutely determined to oppose force with force.

The People, who are always afraid of those who do not fear them, refused to give affistance to their Ædiles, and remained in a kind of suspence; either not daring to attack a Body in which they saw their Magistrates and Captains, or thinking their Tribunes had carried their Animosity too far, in condemning a Citizen to Death for mere Words. Sicinius, who was afraid Coriolanus wou'd escape him, called aside Brutus, his Counsellor and his Oracle, as seditious as himself but less hasty, and whose Schemes were deeper laid. He privately asked him his Opinion upon this Irresolution in the People which broke all his measures.

Brutus told him, that he must never think of destroying Coriolanus so long as he was I 3 guarded

guarded by the whole Body of the Nobility; that it had even occasioned a Murmur in the Assembly, that he shou'd pretend to be both Judge and Party at the same time; that the People, who turn in an instant from the most violent Fury to Sentiments of Compassion, looked upon his Death to be too rigorous a Sentence; that in the disposition which Mens Minds seemed to be in, he certainly wou'd neversucceed by methods of Violence; but that with the old and specious Pretence of desiring to do nothing, but what was according to the Forms of Justice, he shou'd demand of the Senate, that Coriolanus shou'd be tried by the Assembly of the People; and above all, he shou'd at any rate get the Assembly to be convened by Tribes, wherein the Voices were reckoned by their number, least if they gave their Votes by Centuries, the Patricians and the Rich, who cou'd themselves make a Majority, shou'd save Coriolanus.

Sicinius being resolved to follow this Advice, made a fign to the People, that he was going to speak: And Silence being made for him; You see, O Romans, says he, that it is not the fault of the Patricians, that much Blood " is not shed this Day, and that they are ready " to come to the greatest extremities to rescue " the declared Enemy of the Roman People out of the Hands of Justice. But it is our "Duty to set them better Examples: we will " do nothing fo rashly. Tho' the Criminal is " fufficiently convicted by his own Confession, we yet are willing to give him time to preco pare his Defence. We cite thee, added he, addressing himself to Coriolanus, to appear before the People in Seven and Twenty cc Days.

" Days. As for the distribution of the Corn, " if the Senate does not take due care of that matter, the Tribunes will give Directions

about it themselves; and with this he ad-

journed the Assembly.

The Senate during this interval, to take off the bitterness of the People, fixed the Price of Corn at the lowest rate that it had ever been at even before the Famine, and the Confuls entered into conference with the Tribunes upon the Affair of Coriolanus, in hopes to appeafe them, and to bring these popular Magistrates to conform to the Ancient Rules of the Government. Minutius, who spoke for the rest, represented to them that ever fince the Foundation of Rome, that Respect had always been paid to the Senate, that no Affair was ever referred to the Judgment of the People, any otherwise than by a Senatusconsultum: That the Kings themselves had always had this Deference for so August a Body. He exhorted them to conform to the Usage of their Ancestors. But that if they had any confiderable Grievances to lay to the charge of Coriolanus, they shou'd apply to the Senate, who wou'd do them Justice, and who, according to the Nature of the Crime, and the Solidity of their Proofs, wou'd refer it by a Senatusconsultum to the Judgment of the People, who then, and not till then, wou'd have a Right to try a Citizen.

Sicinius withstood this Proposal with his ufual Infolence, and declared that he wou'd never fuffer the Authority of the Roman People to be decided by a Senatusconsultum. His Colleagues, who meant as ill as he did, but who were more skilful in the Conduct of their Defigns,

Designs, plainly sound they shou'd make themselves odious even to the Plebeians, if they so
publickly deviated from the usual Forms of
Justice; thus they obliged Sicinius to desist
from his Opposition, under pretence of doing
it out of Deserence for the Consuls. But this
Complaisance was of so much the less moment,
as they had taken a firm resolution, if the
Senatusconsultum was not such as they desired,
to make use of the Lex Valeria, in order to
appeal to the Assembly of the People, by which
means this Assair was still to come before
their Tribunal, so that the whole Question
was, whether it shou'd be carried thither in
the sirst or second instance.

Thus the Tribunes readily agreed, that the Senate shou'd decide as usual, whether the People shou'd take Cognizance of this Accufation; and they only desired, that they might be heard in the Senate with relation to the Grievances which they pretended they had to lay to the charge of the Person accused.

The Confuls and the Tribunes having agreed upon this Preliminary Form, those Magistrates of the People were the next Day introduced into the Senate. Decius, one of those Tribunes, tho' the youngest, spoke for the rest; and that Honour was done him because of his Eloquence, and the readiness with which he expressed himself in public; a Qualification abfolutely necessary in all popular Governments, and especially at Rome, where the Talent of Elocution was no less requisite in order to obtain advancement, than Courage and Valour. That Tribune addressing himself to the whole Senate, "You know, Conscript Fathers, says he, that having driven out the Kings by our " affiftance,

"affistance, you established in the Republic the form of Government which we now observe, and of which we do not complain. But you cannot be ignorant too, that in all the Differences which any poor Plebeian had afterwards with a Noble or Patrician, that Plebeian constantly lost his Cause, their Adversaries being their Judges, and all the Tribunals being filled with Patricians. This Abuse was what made P. Valerius Publicola,

"that wife Conful, and excellent Citizen, establish the Law which granted an Appeal to the People from the Decrees of the Se-

"nate, and the Judgements of the Consuls.
"Such is the Law called Valeria, which
has always been looked upon as the Basis and
Foundation of the public Liberty. It is to this
Law that we now fly for Redress, if you refuse
us the Justice we demand upon a Man blackened with the greatest Crime, that it is possible
to commit in a Republic. It is not a single
Plebeian complaining; here is the whole
Body of the Roman People, demanding the
Condemnation of a Tyrant that has gone

about to destroy his Fellow-Citizens by Famine, that has violated our Magistracy, and by forcible Methods driven back our Officers, and the Ædiles of the Commonwealth. Coriolanus is the Man we accuse of having proposed the Abolition of the Tribuneship, a Magistracy made sacred by the most so-

" lemn Oaths. What need is there for a Se"natusconsultum to judge a Crime like this?
"Does not every Man know that those par"ticular Decrees of the Senate are requisite
only in unforeseen and extraordinary Affairs,

for which the Laws have as yet made no Provision?

" Provision? But in the present case, where the Law is so direct, where it so expresly devotes to the infernal Gods those that in-" fringe it; is it not making one felf an Accomplice in the Crime to hesitate in the least? Are you not apprehensive that these of affected Delays in pronouncing Sentence upon the Criminal, upon pretence of an imaet ginary necessity of a Senatusconsultum, will make the People inclined to believe that Coe riolanus only spoke the Sentiments of you all? I know that several among you complain et it was merely by Violence that we extorted wour consent for the Abolition of the Debts, and the Establishment of the Tribuneship. "I will even suppose that in the high degree of Power to which you had raised your selves " fince the Expulsion of the Kings, it was neither convenient nor honourable for you to " yield up part of it in favour of the People; but you have done it, and the whole Senate is bound by the most solemn Oaths never to undo it. After the Establishment of these 66 facred Laws, which render the Persons of our Tribunes inviolable, will you, out of compliance to the first ambitious Man that arises, at tempt to revoke what indeed makes the Security and Peace of the State? Certainly you never will; and I dare answer for you, so long as I behold in this Assembly those venerable Mace gistrates that had so great a share in the Treaa ty made upon the Mons Sacer. Ought fo er great a Crime be sufféred to be brought so much as into Deliberation? Coriolanus is the first that by his seditious Advice endeavoured to break those sacred Bonds which unite the several Orders of the State. It is he alone

that is for destroying the Tribunitian Power. " the People's Afylum, the Bulwark of our Li-" berty, and the Pledge of our Re-union. In " order to force the People's Consent, he endeavours to effect one Crime by means of a " greater. He has dared in a Holy Place, and in the Midst of the Senate, to propose to " fuffer the People to die of Hunger. Cruel " and unthinking Man at the same time! did " he not consider that the People whom he " meant to exterminate with fo much Inhuma-" nity, who are more numerous and powerful than he cou'd wish, being reduced to Despair, wou'd have broken into the Houses of the "Rich, forced open those Granaries and those "Cellars which concealed so much Wealth; " and that either they would have fallen un-" der the Power of the Patricians, or that "these latter wou'd themselves have been to-" tally rooted out by an enraged Populace, " who then wou'd have hearkened to no Law " but what was dictated to them by their Neceffity and Resentment?

"For that you may not be unacquainted with the Truth, we wou'd not have perifficed by a Famine brought upon us by our Enemies. But after having taken to witness the Gods, Avengers of Injustice, we wou'd have filled Rome with Blood and Slaughter. Such had been the fatal Success of the Counfels of that pernicious Citizen, if some Senators, who had more love for their Country, had not hindered them from taking Effect. It is to you, Conscript Fathers, that we address our just Complaints. It is your Aid, and the Wisdom of your Decrees, that we call upon to oblige this publick Enemy

co to appear before the whole Roman People " affembled by Tribes to answer for his pernicious Counsels. It is there, Coriolanus, that "thou must defend thy former Sentiments, if "thou darest so to do, or excuse them as proceeding from want of Thought: Take my "Advice; leave thy haughty and tyrannical "Maxims; make thy felf less; become like " us; nay put on Habits of Mourning, which are so conformable to the present State of "thy Fortune. Implore the Pity of thy Fel-66 low-citizens, and perhaps thou may'st obtain "their Favour, and the Forgiveness of thy 66 Faults.

This Tribune having left off speaking, the Confuls asked the Opinion of the Assembly: They began with the Consulars and the oldest L.7.P.453. Senators; for in those days, says Dionysius Halicarnassus, the young Senators were not so prefumptuous as to think themselves capable of instructing their Seniors. Those young Men who were modest and reserved, without daring to speak, only declared their Opinion by some fign, or by going over to that Side which they thought most just. It was from this respectful way of declaring their Minds, that they were called Senatores Pedarii, because their Opinion was known only by the Side to which they went over: Thus it was a common Saying, that a Pedarian Opinion was like a Head without a Tongue.

> All the Senators waited, out of different Motives, some with desire, and others with uneasiness, to hear how Appius Claudius wou'd declare himself. When it was his turn to speak, "You know, Conscript Fathers, says he, that "I have long and frequently opposed, even " alone,

" alone, the Ease with which you grant the "People whatever they demand. I know not whether I have not been troublesome in re-" peating to you the fatal Prefages which I " drew from the Union that was proposed to "you with those Deserters of the Common-"wealth. The Event has but too truly an-" fwered my just Suspicions. The share of the " Magistracy which you yielded up to those " feditious Men, is now turned against your " felves. The People punishes you by means " of your own Favours; they take advantage " of your Goodness to ruin your Authority. "Tis in vain you try to hide even from your " felves the Danger which the Senate is in; " you cannot but see that their Design is to " change the ancient Form of our Govern-" ment: The Tribunes, to bring about their " private Views, make gradual Advances to the "Tyranny. At first they demanded only the "Abolition of the Debts; and this People, " who are now fo haughty, and who endea-" vour to make themselves the supreme Judges of the Senators, then thought they stood in " need of a Pardon, for the difrespectful man-" ner in which they fued for that first Con-" ceffion.

"Your Easiness gave occasion to new Pretensions; the People wou'd have their particular Magistrates. You know how carnestly I opposed these Innovations; but in
spight of all I cou'd do, you assented in this
point also; you allowed the People to have
Tribunes, that is to say, perpetual Ringleaders of Sedition. The People, intoxicated with sury, wou'd even have this new
Magistracy consecrated in a particular man-

or, which had never been allowed to the " Confulship it felf, the first Dignity in the "Republic. The Senate confented to every "thing, less out of Kindness for the People " than want of Resolution; the Person of the "Tribunes was declared facred and inviolable, " and a Law made to that effect. The Peo-" ple required that it shou'd be confirmed with " the most folemn Oaths; and that Day, my * Fathers, you fwore upon the Altars the de-" Aruction of your selves and Children. What " has been the fruit of all these Favours? Your " Easiness has only served to make you contemptible in the Eyes of the People, and to " increase the Pride and Infolence of their Tri-" bunes. They now begin to fet up new Rights " for themselves; and these modern Magistrates, " who ought to live merely like private Men, " take upon them to convene the Affemblies " of the People, and without our Privity pro-" cure Laws to be enacted by the Voices of a " base Rabble.

"And yet it is to fo odious a Tribunal " that they now fummon a Senator, a Citizen-" of your Order; Coriolanus, that great Cap-" tain, and that good Man, yet more illustri-" ous for his Adherence to the Interests of the " Senate than for his Valour. They prefume " to make it a Crime in a Senator to speak his "Opinion in full Senate, with that freedom " which is so becoming a Roman; and if you " your felves had not been his Buckler and De-" fence, they had affaffinated, even in your " Presence, one of your most illustrious Citi-" zens. The Majesty of the Senate was just " going to be violated by so base a Murder; " the Respect due to your Dignity was quite forgot,

" forgot, and you your felves were losing your

" Liberty and Empire.

"The Resolution and Courage which you shewed upon this last occasion, in some mea-

" fure awaked these Madmen from their drunk-" en fit. They seem now to be ashamed of

" a Crime that they cou'd not compleat; they defift from the violent Methods which they

" found wou'd not fucceed, and feemingly have

" recourse to Justice, and the Rules of the

" Law.

"But what is this Justice, immortal Gods. which these Men of Blood wou'd introduce! "they endeavour by fubmissive means to furof prise you into a Senatusconfultum, that may " give them power to drag the best Citizen " of Rome to Punishment. They alledge the " Lex Valeria as the Rule of your Conduct; 66 but does not every body know, that this "Law, which allows of Appeals to the Assem-" bly of the People, relates only to fuch poor " Plebeians, as being destitute of all other Pro-" tection, might be oppressed by the Credit " of a strong Cabal? The Text of the Law is " plain; it expressly says, That a Citizen condemned by the Consuls shou'd have Liberty " to appeal to the People. Publicola by this "Law only gave an Asylum to those unhappy " Men that had reason to complain of having " been condemned by prejudiced Judges. The " defign of the Law was only to have their "Causes heard over again; and when you af-" terwards consented to the creation of the Tri-66 bunes, neither you, nor even the People them-" felves, ever intended any thing more in the Esta-

66 blishment of these new Magistrates, than that

" this Law might be furnish'd with Protectors, " and

and the Poor with Advocates that might prevent their being oppressed by the Great. What " is there common between fuch a Law, and "the case of a Senator of an Order superior to the People, and who is accountable for is his Conduct to none but the Senate? To " shew that the Lex Valeria relates only to or private Plebeians; for nineteen Years that it has been made, let Decius only give me " an instance of one single Patrician that was ever called in Judgment before the People " by virtue of that Law, and our Dispute will 66 be at an end. And indeed what Justice wou'd " there be in delivering up a Senator to the " fury of the Tribunes, and to suffer the Peo-" ple to be Judges in their own Cause; as if "their tumultuous Assemblies, directed by such " feditious Magistrates, cou'd be without Pre-"judice, without Hatred, and without Paf-" fion? Thus, O Fathers, it is my Advice, that " before you determine upon any thing you " maturely weigh that in this Affair your Interests are inseparable from those of Coriolanus; " for the rest, I am not for your revoking the "Favours you have granted the People, by "whatever means they obtained them; but I " cannot forbear exhorting you to refuse bold-" ly for the future whatever they shall think " to get of you contrary to your own Authoc rity, and the Form of our Government.

It is plain by these two opposite Speeches of Decius and Appius, that the business of Coriolanus was only used as a Colour to Affairs of greater importance. The true Cause of the Dispute and Animosity between the two Parties was this, That the Nobles and Patricians affirmed, that by the Expulsion of the Kings.

they

they succeeded in their Authority, and that the Government ought to be purely Aristocratic; whereas the Tribunes, by new Laws, endeavoured to turn it into a Democracy, and to bring the whole Authority into the Hands of the People, whom they governed as they pleased. Thus Ambition, Interest, and Jealousie animated the two Parties, and made the wisest Men apprehensive of a new Separation, or of a Civil War.

This was what Valerius, that Consular who had been so serviceable in the Agreement upon the Mons Sacer, represented to the Senate in Terms equally strong and moving. He was a true Republican, and was displeased to see the Nobles and all those of his Order constantly affecting a Distinction and Power ever odious in a free State. As he was Master of a sweet infinuating Eloquence, he first spoke much in general of the Benefits of Peace, and of the Necessity of preserving Union in the Republic. Then he proceeded to the Affair of Coriolanus. and declared himself for referring the cognizance of it to the Affembly of the People. He maintained that the Senate, by letting go some little of its Authority, secured the duration of it; that it wou'd be stronger if it were less, and that nothing was more likely to difarm the People's Rage against that illustrious Criminal, than the granting them the Judgment of him: That the Multitude, charm'd with such Condescention, wou'd abstain from condemning a Man whom they knew to be fo dear to the Senate: And that to appeale them compleatly, he wou'd have all the Senators disperse themselves among the Assembly, and each endeavour, by a more gentle and popular

Behaviour, to win over the Plebeians he was

acquainted with.

Valerius then turning to Coriolanus, befought him in the most tender manner to give Peace to the Republic: "Go, Coriolanus, fays he, offer " your felf generously to the People's Judg-"ment; this is the only way of justifying ce your felf that is worthy of you; this is the " furest means to filence those who accuse you " of aiming at the Tyranny. The People, " moved with beholding fo great a Soul bend-"ing under the Power of their Tribunes, can " never bring themselves to pronounce Sen-" tence of Condemnation upon Coriolanus; whereas if you perfift in shewing a Con-"tempt for that Tribunal, if you decline "their Justice, and continue obstinately reso-" lute to be tryed only by the Confuls, you " will occasion a Contest between the Senate " and the People, and kindle a dreadful Sedi-"tion. You alone will be the fatal Torch; " and who can tell how far the Flame may " run? Set before your Eyes the frightful I-" mage of a Civil War; the Laws without " Force; the Magistrates without Power; " Fury and Violence possessing both Parties; " Fire and Sword gleaming on all fides, and your "Fellow-Citizens murdering each other: The "Wife calling upon You for her Husband, " the Father for his Children; all loading " you with Imprecations. Laftly, confider " Rome, to whom the Gods have promised so " glorious a Destiny, finking under the Rage " of the two Parties, and buried beneath her own Ruines.

Valerius, who sincerely loved his Country, softened by the Idea of these great Calamities, cou'd

cou'd not restrain his Tears, which fell in spite of himself; and the Tears of a Consular, venerable for his Age and Dignities, more eloquent even than his Discourse, touched the greater part of the Senators, and disposed their Minds to Peace.

Then Valerius, finding that he was Master of the Assembly, raised his Voice, and as if he had got fresh Strength, or were become another Man, shewed himself undisguised, and spoke to them with that Authority which his Age and long Experience in Affairs gave him. "We " are made to fear, cries he, that the Publick Li-" berty will be in imminent Danger, if we grant " fo much Power to the People, and allow " them to try those of our Order that shall be " accused by the Tribunes. I am persuaded on " the contrary, that nothing is more likely to " preserve it. The Republic consists of two " Orders, Patricians and Plebeians; the que-" stion is, which of those two Orders may " most safely be trusted with the Guardianship of that facred Depositum, our Liberty. " maintain that it will be more fecure in the "Hands of the People, who defire only not " to be opprest, than in those of the Noco bles who all have a violent thirst of Domi-" nion. These Patricians, invested with the " prime Magistratures, distinguished by their "Birth, their Wealth, and their Honours, will " always be powerful enough to hold the Peo-66 ple to their Duty: And the People, when " they have the Authority of the Laws, being 66 naturally Haters and jealous of all exalt-" ed Power, will by their watchfulness over " the Actions of the Great, strike the Terror " of the Severity of their Judgments into fuch K 2

" of the Patricians as might be tempted to " aspire to the Tyranny. You abolished the "Royalty, Conscript Fathers, because the Au-"thority of a fingle Man grew exorbitant. "Not fatisfied with dividing the Sovereign 66 Power between two Annual Magistrates, " you gave them besides a Council of three " hundred Senators to be Inspectors over their " Conduct and Moderators of their Authority. 66 But this very Senate, so formidable to the "Kings and to the Confuls, has nothing in " the Republic to balance their Power. I know very well that hitherto, Thanks be to " the Gods, we have had all the Reason in the World to be contented with their Moderation. But then I know not whether we are not obliged for this to the Fear of our Enemies abroad, and to those continual Wars which we have been forced to mainc tain; but who will be answerable that for the future our Successors, growing more " Haughty and more Potent by a long Peace, " may not make Attempts upon the Liberty of " their Country, and that in the very Senate " it self some strong Faction may not arise, " whose Leader may find ways to become the "Tyrant of his Fellow-Citizens, if there be of not at the same time out of the Senate some 66 other Power, which by means of the Ac-" cusations to be brought into the Assembly of the People, may be able to withstand the ambitious Enterprizes of the Great? "Perhaps the Question may be started, Whe-" ther the same Inconveniency is not to be apof prehended from the part of the People, and whether it is possible to make sufficient Pro-" vision, that there shall not at some time arise

" among

among the Plebeians, a Head of a Party that will 46 abuse his Influence over the Minds of the Mul-" titude, and under the old pretence of defend-" ing the People's Interests, in the end oppress " both their Liberty and that of the Senate? "But you must needs know, that upon the " least Danger which the Republic may seem " to be in on that fide, our Confuls have power "to name a Dictator, whom they will never " chuse but from among your own Body; " that this supreme Magistrate, the absolute " Master of the Lives of his Fellow-Citizens, is alone able by his Authority to diffipate a coppular Faction; and the Wisdom of our "Laws has allowed him that formidable Power " but for fix Months, for fear he shou'd abuse " it, and employ in the Establishment of his " own Tyranny, an Authority intrusted with " him only to destroy that of any other ambi-"tious Men. Thus, added Valerius, with a " mutual Inspection the Senate will be watch-" ful over the Behaviour of the Confuls, the "People over that of the Senate; and the Dictator, when the State of Affairs requires 46 the Interposition of such an Office, will serve s as a Curb to the Ambition of both. "more Eyes that there are upon the Conduct of every Branch of our Legislature, the more see secure will be our Liberty, and the more per-" fect our Constitution.

Other Senators, who were of the same Opinion, added, that nothing was more likely to preserve their Liberty, than to allow every Roman Citizen comprised in the Census, the Privilege of impeaching before the Assembly of the People, any that shou'd violate the Laws; that this Right of Accusation wou'd K 3 not

not only keep the Great in Awe, but also be ferviceable in giving vent to the Murmurs of the People, which without those Complaints might run up to Sedition. Thus it was refolved by plurality of Voices to leave this Affair to the Judgment of the People. And this was the more willingly agreed to, because the Petition which the Tribunes had first made for a Senatusconsultum to empower them to prosecute the Accused, wou'd, for the future, stand as a new Precedent of the Senate's Privilege and Authority. Tho' this Society knew they were about to Sacrifice an innocent Man to the Pafsion of his Enemies, the publick Quiet prevailed above any private Concern, and the Senatusconsultum was immediately drawn. But before it was figned, Coriolanus, who found the Senate were giving him up, defired leave to speak; and having obtained it, "You know, "Conscript Fathers, says he addressing himself to the Senators, what the whole course of my Life has hitherto been. You know that "this obstinate Hatred of the People, and that " unjust Persecution which I now suffer from it, are occasioned only by the inviolable Zeal "which I have always shewn for the Interests " of this Body. I will not infift upon the " Returns I now meet with; the Event will " shew the Weakness and perhaps the Malice " of the Counsels which are given you in this " Affair. But fince Valerius's Opinion has at " length prevailed, let me know at least what " is the Crime that I am charged with, and " upon what conditions I am delivered over to " the Fury of my Adversaries.

D. 4. 7: Coriolanus said this to find out whether the p. 462. Tribunes wou'd ground their Accusation upon the Speech

Speech he had made in full Senate. This was indeed the only Cause of the Rage of the Tribunes against that Senator, whom they cou'd never forgive the Proposal he had made to abolish the Tribuneship; but as they fear'd they shou'd make themselves too odious to the Senate, if they pretended to call every Senator to account for the Opinions he shou'd give in the publick Deliberations, they declared, after conferring together, that they wou'd confine their whole Accusation to the single Crime of

Tyranny.

" If it be for replyed Coriolanus, and I have nothing to clear my felf of but a Calumny " fo ill-grounded, I freely yield my felf to the "Judgment of the People, and do not oppose "the figning of the Senatusconfultum. Senate was not displeased to see the Affair take this turn, and that no mention wou'd be made of what had passed in the last Assembly, which must have brought the Honour and Authority of their Body into the Dispute. Thus with the consent of all Parties the Decree was figned, allowing the Person accused seven and twenty Days to prepare his Defence. This Decree was put into the Hands of the Tribunes, and for fear lest notwithstanding their Promise they shou'd still pretend in the Assembly of the People to urge as an Article against Coriolanus, what he had advanced with relation to the Tribuneship and the Price to be fixed upon the Corn; they made another Senatusconfultum, discharging him from all Profecutions that might be raised against him upon either of those accounts: A precaution which the Senate took, that they might not have the uneafiness to see it discussed before the People, how far the Senators might K 4

carry the freedom of their Opinions. The Tribunes, after having read the Senate's Decree in the first Assembly of the People, exhorted all the Citizens of the Republic, as well those that dwelt in Rome, as the Inhabitants of the Country, to be at the Forum on the Day appointed for the decision of this Business. Most of the Plebeians waited impatiently till the time shou'd come when they might signalize their Hatred against Coriolanus, and they seemed as zealous against that Senator, as if his Destruction were the Safety of the Re-

public.

At length the fatal Day appeared when this great Affair was to be decided; and an innumerable Multitude crowded the Forum extreamly betimes in the Morning. The Tribunes, who knew what they did, separated them by Tribes before the Senators came; whereas, from the Reign of Servius Tullius, the Voices had always been gathered by Centuries. fingle difference was enough to give the deciding turn to any Deliberation, and to weigh down the Scale in favour either of the People or of the Patricians. The Confuls being come to the Assembly, were for keeping up the ancient Custom, not doubting but they cou'd fave Coriolanus if the Voices were reckoned by Centuries, in which the Patricians themselves had the Majority. But the Tribunes, no less artful, and more resolute, alledged that in an Affair which concerned the Rights of the People and the Public Liberty, it was but just that every Citizen, without respect to Wealth or Rank, shou'd have his Vote in particular, and loudly declared they wou'd never confent that the Voices shou'd be collected otherwise than

than by Tribes and by Tale. This Difpute was carried very far; but at length the Senate, who wou'd not make Coriolanus's Accusation a Contest of their own, and who were apprehensive their Authority wou'd be attacked directly, gave way as usual to the Obstinacy of the Magistrates of the People.

However, Minucius the first Consul, to hide, if possible, the Weakness and indeed the Scandal of this Conduct in the Senate, mounted the Rostrum. He opened his Discourse with the Advantages produced by Peace and Union, and the Calamities which attended Discord. From these Common-Places, he proceeded to the Affection which the Senate had for the People, and the Favours it had heaped upon them at feveral times. He declared that all the Return they asked was Coriolanus's Difcharge, and exhorted the Plebeians to confider less a few Words which had escaped him in the heat of his Discourse, than the important Services which that generous Citizen had done the Commonwealth: " Be satisfied, Romans, " added he, with the Submission of that great " Man; and let it not be faid, that so Illustrious " a Citizen underwent the Forms of Justice like " a Criminal. Sicinius answered, that if such Indulgence were to take place in the Government of States, none wou'd be secure. That all who had done great Services, might then undertake the most Unjust Actions with Impunity. That in Monarchies the King had Power to forgive; but in Commonwealths the Laws alone governed, and those Laws, deaf to all Sollicitations, punished Guilt with the same strictness of Justice, that they rewarded Virtue.

" Since

" Since, notwithstanding our Intreaties, reof plyed Minutius, you obstinately insist that " Coriolanus shall be tried by the Suffrages of " the Assembly, I demand that, pursuant to your "Agreement with the Senate, you confine " your Accusation to the single Article of Ty-" ranny, and bring Proofs and Witnesses of " this Crime. For, added the Conful, as to what he has said in our Assemblies; besides 66 that you have no Right to take Cognizance " of any thing of that Nature, the Senate " has discharged him of it. And as a Proof of what he faid, he read aloud the Senatusconfultum relating to it: He then came down from the Rostrum; and this was all the affishance that the Illustrious Criminal received from the timorous Policy of the Senate.

Sicinius then arose, and represented to the People, That Coriolanus, a Descendant from the Kings of Rome, had long fought to make himfelf the Tyrant of his Country. That his Birth, his Courage, those numerous Adherents who might be called his first Subjects, made him but too suspicious. That they cou'd not be too fearful, that the Valour so much cried up by the Patricians wou'd be pernicious to his Fellow-Citizens. That he was too Guilty the moment he had made himself suspicious and formidable. That in matter of Government, the bare Appearance of affecting the Tyranny was a Crime worthy of Death, or at least of Banishment. Sicinius wou'd not explain himself more openly, before he had heard Coriolanus's Defence, to the intent, that in his Reply he might play the whole Strength of his Accufation, against the Parts most weakly defended: An Artifice which he had concerted with De-

cius,

cius, who was to speak in his turn to this Affair.

Coriolanus then presented himself in the Affembly with a Courage deferving a better Fortune, and answered the Suspicions, which the Tribune had endeavoured to throw fo maliciously upon his Conduct, with a bare Recital of his Services. He began with his first Campaigns, he gave an Account of all the Engagements in which he had fought, the Wounds he had received, the Military Honours which his Generals had bestowed upon him, and lastly, the several Posts in the Army thro' which he had gradually passed. He exposed to the view of the whole People a great number of different Crowns, which he had received either for mounting the Breach first in Assaults. or for having first broke into the Enemy's Camp, or lastly, for having in various Battels faved the Lives of a great number of Citizens. He called them aloud, each by his Name, and cited them as Witnesses of what he advanced. Those Men, who were mostly Plebeians, immediately arose, and gave public Testimony of the Obligations they lay under to him. "We 66 have frequently, cried they, beheld him fingly " break thro' the closest Battalions of the Enemy "to fave a Citizen oppress'd with Numbers. "It is by him alone we live, and that we now " fee our felves in our own Country, and in the " Embraces of our Families. Our Gratitude is " urged against him as a Crime; that great "Man, and that excellent Citizen is accused, " because they whose Lives he has saved at-" tend him in his Train like his Clients. Can " we do otherwise without the most detesta-" ble Baseness? Can our Interests ever be divided "vided from His? If you only defire a Fine, "we offer all we have in the World: If you "Condemn him to Exile, we Banish our felves with him: And if the obstinate Fury of his Enemies wou'd have his Life, let them take ours rather. They are His, by the justest of Titles: We shall only restore him what every one of us owes wholly to his Valour, and we shall save to the Republic

" a most valuable Citizen.

Those generous Plebeians in pronouncing these Words shed floods of Tears, stretched out their Hands to the Assembly after the manner of Supplicants, and endeavoured to work upon the Multitude. Then Coriolanus, tearing away his Robe, shewed his Breast all covered with the Scars of a great number of Wounds which he had received: "It was to fave these Wor-"thy Men, fays he, it was to rescue these good "Citizens out of the Hands of our Enemies, "that I have a Thousand times ventured my "Life. Let the Tribunes, if they can, " shew how such Actions can stand with " the Treacherous Defigns which they lay to " my Charge. Is it probable, that an Enemy " of the People wou'd expose himself to so " many Dangers in War to fave those very " Men whom he is accused of endeavouring " to destroy in Peace?

This Discourse, supported by a Noble Air, and that Considence which slows from Innocence and Truth, made the People ashamed of their Malice. The best Men of that Order cried out, that they ought to acquit so good a Citizen. But the Tribune Decius, alarm'd at this Change, rising up, as he had agreed with his Collegue Sicinius, "Tho' the Senate does

not.

" not allow us, fays he, to prove the ill defigns of this Enemy of the People, by the odious words which he spoke in full Senate, we " shall not want other Proofs no less effential. "I will only mention some Actions where "that Spirit of Tyranny and Pride are no less " apparent. You know that according to " our Laws, the Spoils of the Enemy belong " to the Roman People; that neither the Sol-" diers, nor their General himself, has Power " to dispose of them; but that all ought to " be fold, and the Price arising from them " carried by a Quæstor into the public Trea-" fury; fuch is the Usage and Constitution of our Government. Nevertheless, contrary to " these Laws, which are as ancient as Rome " it felf, Coriolanus having got a confiderable "Booty in the Territories of the Antiates, " divided it among his Friends by his private " Authority; and the Tyrant gave Them the "People's Due, as the first Fruits of their "Conspiracy. He must therefore either deny " a notorious Fact, and fay, that he did " not dispose of this Booty, or else maintain that he had Power to do it without vio-" lating the Laws. So that without sheltering " himself under these vain Exclamations of his " Adherents, or all those Scars which he shews " with more Oftentation than Truth, I call upon him to answer to this one Article which " I urge against him.

It is true, Coriolanus had made this distribution of the Plunder, or rather had suffered his Soldiers to take each his Share. But he was so far from disposing of it only in favour of his Friends and Creatures, as was objected to him, that it is certain, his Soldiers, who made

part

part of that very People which now profecuted him with so much Violence, received the whole benefit of that Pillage. To explain this Fact, it is necessary to be informed that the Antiates taking advantage of the Famine with which Rome was afflicted, and of the Discord which raged between the People and the Senate, had made Incursions up to the very Gates of the City, and yet the People cou'd not be prevailed upon to march out to drive back the Enemy. Coriolanus could not bear this Insult: He ask'd leave of the Consuls to take Arms. He put himself at the head of his Friends, and to induce the Plebeian Soldiers to follow him, promised to bring them home laden with Booty. The Soldiers, who were well acquainted with his Valour and Experience in War, and who besides found themselves sharply prest by Hunger, crowded to his Standard. Coriolanus, follow'd by the bravest Plebeians, march'd out of Rome, furprised the Enemies scattered all over the Country, beat them in several Engagements, drove them quite into their own Territories, and at last forced them to shut themselves up in Antium. He then used Reprisals, and while he held the Gates of that City as it were sealed up by the Fear of his Arms, and the Terror of his Name, his Soldiers in their turn ravaged their Territory, cut down their Corn, and gathered in their Harvest Sword in Hand. That General gave his confent to their keeping this Grain, only to help them to support their Wives and Children, and by their example to incite the rest of the Plebeians to seek Provisions boldly in the Country of their Enemies.

But those of the People who had not had any Hand in this Expedition, cou'd not with-

out a fecret Jealoufy behold Coriolanus's Soldiers return into Rome laden with Corn. Decius, who had discovered these Sentiments in them, resolved to improve them to his own ends, and doubted not but those Plebeians, envious of the good Fortune of their Neighbours, wou'd readily condemn Coriolanus for a generous Action by which they themselves had received no benefit.

That Tribune, who was urgent and audacious, infolently asked Coriolanus whether he was King of Rome, and by what Authority he had disposed of what belong'd to the Republic. Coriolanus, surprised at an Accusation against which he had prepared no Defence, contented himself with giving a bare Relation of the matter of Fact, as we have stated it. He represented that one part of the People had received the Advantage of the Spoils of the Enemy, and called with a loud Voice the Centurions and chief of the Plebeians that went with him in that Incursion, to bear Testimony to the Truth. But those who had not been Sharers in the Corn of the Antiates, being more numerous than Coriolanus's Soldiers, made fo much Noise, that those Captains cou'd not be heard. The Tribunes, finding the People were blown up again to their former Animofity, laid hold of this Opportunity to collect the Suffrages; and Coriolanus was at length condemned to perpetual Banishment.

Most of the Nobles and Patricians thought D. H. 1. 7. themselves in a manner Banished with this Plut. in great Man, who had always been the Defen-Coriol. der and Supporter of their Order. At first 1. 2. Year of they were under a general Consternation; but R. 262.

Indignation

Indignation and Rage quickly succeeded. Some reproached Valerius, that he had mis-led the Senate by his artful Discourses; others reproached themselves for their Excess of Condescention to the People; all repented that they had not rather endured the last Extremities, than have abandoned so illustrious a Citizen to the Insolence of a seditious Rabble.

Coriolanus, alone unconcerned in appearance at his Difgrace, left the Affembly with the fame Tranquility as if he had been acquitted. He went first to his House, where he found his Mother, named Veturia, and Volumnia his Wife all drowned in Tears, and in the first Transports of their Grief. He exhorted them in few words to bear this reverse of Fortune with Constancy; and after having recommended to them the care of his Children, which were yet but Infants, he strait left his House and Rome, fingle, and without permitting any of his Friends to accompany him, or any of his Servants or Slaves to attend him. Patricians and some young Senators only went with him to the Gates of the City; but without speaking one Word to them, or uttering the least Complaint, he parted from them, neither thanking them for what was past, nor entreating them about the future.

Never did the People testisse more Joy, no not even upon vanquishing the greatest Enemies of Rome, than they shewed for the Advantage they had now gained over the Senate and the Body of the Nobility. The Form of the Government received an absolute Change by the Condemnation and Exile of Coriolanus; and the People, who before were dependant

upon

upon the Patricians, were now become their Judges, and had got themselves a Right to decidethe Fate of the Greatest in the Commonwealth.

And indeed the Sovereign Authority was now passed from the Senate into the Assembly of the People, or, to speak more truly, into the Hands of their Tribunes, who, under pretence of defending the Concerns of private Persons, made themselves the Arbiters of the Government. The Confuls alone, those Supreme Heads of the Republic, were the only Persons they stood in awe of. It was to weaken their Power and Credit, that they endeavoured to keep that Dignity from falling to any, but Patricians devoted to their Interests, or so little esteemed as to give them no cause to be apprehensive of any thing they cou'd do. And to prepare the Multitude to give their Votes conformable to their private views, they with great Cunning infinuated in all Assemblies, that the best Captains were not the most fit to govern a Commonwealth. That Men of their exalted Courage, being always used to an absolute Power in the Armies, brought home with their Victories a Spirit of Pride, ever dangerous in a Free State. That in the Fatal Obligation the People lay under, to chuse their Consuls only out of the Body of the Patricians, it was of great Importance to them to pick out Men of but moderate Excellencies, capable of Business, but without too great an Elevation and Superiority.

The People, who now only acted according to the Impression they received from their Magistrates, refused their Voices to the greatest Men in the Republic, in the Comitia held in the

o - ef

e

;

ıt

n

the Consulate of Q. Sulpitius and Sp. Largius for the Election of their Successors. The Senators and Patricians were formerly used to dispose as they pleased of that great Dignity, because none cou'd be Elected, but in an Asfembly by Centuries, wherein the Nobility had the Majority of Voices. But now the People out-number'd the Patricians by the artful management of the Tribunes, who found ways to gain some and intimidate others. C. Julius and P. Pinarius Rufus were pro-Rome 2 4 claimed Consuls: They were but indifferent Soldiers, had no Credit in the Senate, and

D. H. l. 8 Year of

> wou'd never have attained that Dignity if they had deserved it.

> We may observe upon this occasion, that the Senate and the People, always opposite in their Opinions, both acted contrary to their real Interests, and seemed to aim at joyning two things Incompatible. All the Romans, as well Patricians as Plebeians, aspired to the Conquest of Italy; the Command of the Armies was referved to the Patricians only, who were in Possession of the Dignities of the State; they had no Soldiers but the Plebeians, whom they wou'd reduce to that timid Submission and that servile Dependance, which they cou'd scarce have expected in mean Artificers, and a Populace bred up and educated in obscurity. The People, on the contrary, powerful, numerous, and full of that Ruggedness growing from a continual Exercise of Arms, in order to lessen the Authority of the Government, defired no Confuls and Generals, but what wou'd be indulgent, meek, complacent to the Multitude, and such as wou'd behave themselves towards their Soldiers, rather with

the modest Manners of Equality, than with that lofty and imperious Air which the Command of Armies naturally gives a General. In order to put an end to the Misunderstanding which was between those two Orders of the Republic, either they ought both of them joyntly to have resolved to content themselves peaceably with the narrow limits of their little State, without undertaking to make Conquests; or the Patricians, if they were desirous of subduing their Neighbours, shou'd have allowed a greater share in the Government to a Warlike People, Citizens during Winter, but Soldiers all the Summer; and the People, on their fide, shou'd have named to the Command none but the best Generals in the Republic.

I owe this Reflection to the Events that follow; and we shall see that it was not long before the People repented their having intrusted the Government of the State, and the Command of the Armies, to two Men equally in-

capable of those Functions.

r

S

e

-

0

e

5,

h:

i-

ed y,

els in

n-

out

ent

ith

the

Coriolanus, wandering about after his Departure D. H. 1. 8. from Rome, did not so much look out for an Asylum or Retreat, as for Means and Opportunities of avenging his Wrongs. That exalted Spirit, that Roman so unmoveable in appearance, being now wholly given over to himfelf, cou'd not refift the fecret Motions of his Resentment; and in the designs which he laid for the destruction of his Enemies, he was not ashamed to involve the Ruin of his Country it self. He spent the first Days of his Banishment at a Country Seat. His Mind, tost about by violent Passions, formed successively different Schemes. At length, after having L 2

having cast his Eyes upon the several Nations, that were Neighbours and Enemies to Rome, Sabins, Equi, Tuscans, Volsci, and Hernici, he found none that seemed more inveterate against the Romans, and at the same time more in a condition to enter into a War, than the Volsci, the Inhabitants of the Ancient Latium.

They were a Republic, or a Community confifting of several little Cities united by a League, and governed by an Assembly of Deputies from each Canton. This Nation bordering upon Rome, and jealous of her rifing Greatness, had always opposed it with remarkable Courage; but the War had not been fo fuccessful to them as they expected. The Romans had taken from them several small Towns, and part of their Territory; fo that in the last War, the Volsci, after having been beaten in feveral Engagements, were at length reduced to a necessity of suing for a Truce for two Years, in order to get time to repair their broken Strength: But this did not lessen the Animofity which burnt in their Hearts; they fought all over Italy to stir up new Enemies against the Romans, and upon their Resentment it was that Coriolanus built his hopes of engaging them to take up Arms. But he was the most unfit Man in the World to persuade them to fuch a Defign; he alone had done them more Mischief than all the rest of the Romans; more than once he had cut to pieces their Troops, ravaged their Country, taken and plunder'd their Towns: The Name of Coriolanus was as odious as it was formidable throughout the whole Community of the Vollci.

Besides, that little Republic was then governed by Tullus Ausidius, the General of that Nation, jealous of the Glory of Coriolanus, who had beat him in all the occasions wherever they had fought against each other; a Disgrace which Men wou'd gladly hide even from themselves, but which they never forgive. Nothing could be more dangerous than to put himself into the Hands of an Enemy, who, to essay the state of his Defeats, might persuade his Citizens to destroy him. All these Plut. in reasons offered themselves to the Mind of Co-Coriol. riolanus; but immoderate Thirst of Venge-D. H. init. ance prevailed in a Heart inaccessible to Fear, and l. 8. Val. he came to a Resolution to apply directly to Co. 2. and 4. Tullus himself.

He departed from his Retreat in Disguise; and in the Evening entered Antium, the chief City of the Community of the Volsci. He went directly to Tullus's House, with his Face covered: He sate him down, without speaking one Word, by the Domestic Hearth, a Place sacred in all the Houses of ancient Paganism. A Conduct so extraordinary, and a certain Air of Authority that never abandons Great Men, surprised the Servants; they ran to tell their Master. Tullus came, and demanded of him who he was, and what he required of him.

Coriolanus then discovering himself: "If thou dost not yet know me, says he, I am "Caius Marcius, my Sirname is Coriolanus, the only Reward lest me of all my Services. I am banished from Rome by the Hatred of the People, and the Pusilanimity of the Great; I seek Revenge; it lies in thy Power to employ my Sword against my Foes and thy Country's. If thy Republic will not accept

0

d

e

The History of the Revolutions

" of my Service, I give my Life into thy Hands; put an end to an old Enemy, that may else come to do more Mischiefs to thy

" Country.

Tullus, amazed at the greatness of his Soul, gave him his Hand: "Fear nothing, "Marcius, says he; thy Considence is the Pledge of thy Security. By bringing us "thy self, thou givest us more than ever thou tookest from us. And accordingly we shall take care to acknowledge thy Services better than thy Fellow-Citizens. So great a Captain may justly expect the great- est Honours from the Volsci. He then led him into his Apartment where they privately conferred about the means of renewing the War.

We have already faid, that there was at this time a Truce between the Volsci and the Romans; the business was to bring the former to a Resolution of breaking it. But this was not without its difficulties, because of the late Losses and Defeats which the Volsci had suffered in the last War. Tullus, in concert with Coriolanus, fought a Pretence to stir up their old Animofity. The Romans were preparing to represent some publick Sports, which were part of the Religion of those times; the People about Rome flocked to them from all parts, and there went particularly a great Number of the Volsci. They were dispersed in divers Parts of the City; nay, there were several that not being able to find Hosts to receive them lay under Tents in the public Places. This great multitude of Strangers gave Uneafiness to the Consuls; and to add to it, Tullus caused a false Alarm to be given, that the Volsci were

fa

C

ac

"

66

"

to set Fire to several parts of Rome. Confuls made their Report of this to the Senate; and as they were well acquainted with the Inveteracy of that Nation, the Magistrates caused an Order to be published throughout the City, enjoyning all the Volsci to depart from it before Night, and even prescribing the Gate thro' which they should pass. This Order was executed rigorously, and all of that Nation were instantly driven out of Rome; they carried with them each into his Canton the shame of this ill Usage, and a strong defire of Revenge. An Assembly of the States was held upon it tumultuously; Tullus did not fail to foment the public Animosity. "Is it possible, says he, they cou'd drive you " from a Public Festival, and as it were from " an Affembly of Gods and Men, like the " Profanest Wretches and Outlaws? Can you, " after fuch vile Treatment, try to conceal " from your selves the irreconcileable Aversi-" on which the Romans bear you? Will you " wait, till, spite of the Truce which has " made us lay down our Arms, they come and " furprize you, and lay waste your Territories " once again?

The greater Number gave their Voices for being beforehand with them, and for marching without delay, Swordin Hand, to demand Satisfaction of the Romans, for the Infult they had received. But Tullus, who directed this Affair, advised them, before they broke out, to send for Coriolanus into their Assembly: "That "Captain, says he, whose Valour we have so often felt, now more an Enemy-to the Romans than the Volsci, seems to have been brought hither by the Gods to restore our L 4 "Affairs;

1

-

of

S

al

re

is

0

re

0

D. H. 1. 8

"Affairs; and he will give us no Counfels, "whereof he will not share the Dangers of the "Execution. The Roman was called, and introduced into the Assembly: he appear'd with a Countenance sad, but resolute at the same time; all present fixed their Eyes attentively upon a Man that had been more dreadful to them, than all the rest of the Romans put together; and they listned to his Words with that Respect, which is always paid to Merit under Persecution.

"None of you can be ignorant, fays he " to them, that I am condemned to perpetual "Banishment, thro' the Malice or Weakness of those who are the Authors or Accom-" plices of my Difgrace. If I had fought " only a Place of Refuge, I might have re-" tired my felf, either among the Latins our " Allies, or to some Roman Colony. But a "Life so obscure had been to me insupporta-" ble, and I always thought it was better to " throw it up, than to see one self reduced to " fuch a condition, as to be able neither to " ferve his Friends, nor be revenged upon his " Enemies. This is my Temper: I wou'd " deserve by my Sword the Asylum I ask of " you : Let us joyn our common Resentments. You know full well that those ungrateful " Citizens, who have banished me so unjustly, " are your most inveterate Foes: Rome, that " Haughty City, threatens you with her "Chains. It is your Interest to weaken such " formidable Neighbours: I find, with pleasure, "that you are disposed to renew the War, and " I confess it is the only way to stop the Pro-" gress of that ambitious Nation. But in order to render this War successful, it is " necessary

" necessary that it shou'd be just before the "Gods, or at least appear so before Men; it is necessary that the Motive or Pretence up-" on which you shall take up Arms, be such " as may engage your Neighbours, and pro-" cure you new Allies. Feign that it is your " desire to convert the Truce which is be-"tween the two Nations into a folid Peace: " Let the Ambassadors that you send to Rome " upon this Account, demand only this one " Condition, namely, a Restitution of the Lands " which have been taken from you, either by " the chance of War, or in compulsive Trea-"ties. You are not to be informed that the "Territory of Rome, at the Foundation of "that City, was at most but of five or fix " Miles Extent. That little Canton is infenfi-" bly become a great Country by the Con-" quests, or to speak more truly, by the Usur-" pations of the Romans. Volsci, Sabins, Æ-" qui, Albans, Tuscans, Latins, in a word, "there is not a Nation in their Neighbour-" hood from which they have not wrested some " of her Towns, and part of her Territory. "These are so many Allies that will join with " you in an Affair which is common to you " all, and concerns each of you alike. " If the Romans, intimidated by the Terror " of your Arms, consent to restore to you the " Cities, the Towns, and the Lands which "they have strip'd you of, then, by your Ex-" ample, the other Nations of Italy will de-" mand each the Domain that they have loft:

" which will at one stroke reduce that proud "Nation to the same state of Weakness in " which it was in its Origin. Or if she undertakes, as I doubt not she will, to hold "those Usurpations by force of Arms, then in a War so equitable you will have both Gods and Men your Friends. Your Allies will tye themselves more closely to you; there will be formed a powerful League, capable of destroying, or at least of humbling a Republick so fastidious. I will not mention the little Capacity I have gained in War: Soldier or Captain, in whatever Rank you

" place me, I will glady facrifice my Life to revenge you of our common Enemies.

This Discourse was heard with pleasure, as are all those that engage and flatter our Passions. War was resolved on; the Community of the Volsci intrusted the Conduct of it to Tullus and Coriolanus; and to bind the Roman more strictly to the Volscian Nation, they presented him with the Quality of Senator. At the same time, according to his Advice, they dispatched Ambassadors to Rome; where they were no fooner arrived, but they represented to the Senate that their Superiors, after the Example of the Latins, aspired to the Honour of being Allies of the Roman People; but in order to make this Union everlafting, "We demand, faid "those Ambassadors, that the Republic restore " to us the Towns and Lands which we have 4 loft by the chance of War. This will be " the furest Pledge of a folid and lasting Peace; " otherwise we cannot avoid taking Possession " of them again by force of Arms.

The Ambassadors being retired, the Senate did not spend much time in deliberation: It was unknown to Rome what it was to bend under Menaces; and it was a Fundamental Maxim of their Government not to yield to an Enemy, even the Victorious; so that the Ambassadors

were

were foon called in again. The first Conful replyed in few words, that Fear wou'd never make the Romans give up what they had conquered by their Valour; and that if the Volsci took Arms the first, the Romans wou'd lay them down the last; with this they were difmis'd. The return of these Ambassadors was follow'd by a Declaration of War. Tullus and Coriolanus, who forefaw the Senate's Answer, held their Troops in a readiness to enter upon Acti-Tullus, with a Body of Reserve, staid in the Country to defend the entrance of it against the Enemy, while Coriolanus at the head of the main Army threw himself into the Territory rear of of the Romans and their Allies, before the Con-Rome fuls had taken any measures for resisting him. 265. He first drove from Circaum a Colony of Romans that were established there. Satricum. Longulum, Postulia, and Corioli were carried Sword in Hand. Corbio, Ditellium, Trebia, opened their Gates to a General whom it was dangerous to stop; and the Inhabitants of Bola. for making a little Resistance, were put to the Sword. Coriolanus's Soldiers, dispersing about the Country, carried Fire and Sword in all parts. But in this general Plunder and Burning, they had private Orders to spare the Houses and Estates of the Patricians. Coriolanus affected so remarkable a distinction, either out of his former Love for those of his own Order; or, which is more probable, to render the Senate suspicious to the People, and to encrease the Diffentions which were between them.

This Conduct had all the Effect which he expected from it. The People failed not to accuse the Senate publickly of having an Understanding with Coriolanus, and of getting him

Year of Rome 265.

on purpose to come at the Head of an Army, in order to abolish the Tribunitian Power. Patricians on their fide upbraided the People, that they had drove fo great a Captain to throw himself in despair into the Party of the Enemy. Suspicion, Distrust, Harred, reigned in both Factions; and in these Disorders they thought less of repulsing the Voisci, than of decrying and ruining the Domestic Foe. The two Confuls, hid behind the Walls of Rome, made Levies but flowly. Spurius Nautius, and Sextus Furius, who fucceeded them, did not shew more Courage and Resolution. It was visible they were afraid to venture themselves against so great a General. The People themselves, and their Tribunes, who were so fierce in the public Forum, were in no haste to give their Names to be inrolled; none cared for stirring out of Rome, whether they had no great Opinion of the Capacity of their Leaders, or that they were terrifyed at the thought of falling into the Hands of an Enemy victorious and incensed.

Coriolanus, finding no Army in the Field to oppose his Designs, advances still on, takes Lavinium, and at length comes and encamps at the Cluilian Trenches sive Miles distance from

Rome.

Upon the Fame of this great run of Success, most of the Volsci flock to Coriolanus's Army. The very Soldiers of Tullus himself, drawn by the hopes of the Sack and Plunder of Rome, leave their General, and declare they acknowledge no other but the Roman: This was in a manner a fresh Victory which Coriolanus gained over Tullus, and which lest a sharp Resentment in that Volscian's Breast. The Eyes of all Italy were turned upon the Romans and the Volsci,

Volsci, who only by the Change of their Generals had felt so great a one in their Fortune: So true it is, that the Strength of a State confifts not fo much in the Number and Bravery of its Troops, as in the Experience of those who command them. The Consternation was general at Rome. The People, who from the top of their Walls behold the Enemies spread all over the Country, with loud Cries demand Peace. They fay openly in the Forum, that they shou'd annul the Sentence of Condemnation which had past upon Coriolanus, and recall him from his Exile: In a word, that very People which had but lately banished him with so much Fury, now call for his Return with equal Violence.

Most of the Patricians opposed it, either to remove the Suspicion of their having kept up the least Intelligence with him, or only out of that Spirit of Generosity so common among the Romans, which made them never more averse to Peace than upon ill Success. There then issued from the Senate that resolute and haughty Answer, which they maintained but indifferently afterwards, That the Romans wou'd never grant any thing to a Rebel, so long as he remained in Arms.

Coriolanus, acquainted and enraged with this Reply, breaks up his Camp, marches directly to Rome, and invests the Place in order to besiege it. A Design so daring throws both the Patricians and the People into an equal Consternation; all their Hearts and Resolutions sail them; Hatred gives way to Fear. The Senate and People now jointly concur to sue for Peace: They send Deputies to Coriolanus, nay and chuse out for this Negotiation sive Men of Consular

-

e

M. Minuci-Consular Dignity, and such of the Senate as us, Posthu-had most firmly adhered to his Interests.

mus C. Minius, Sp. The Volsci made these Deputies pass thro' Largius, P two Ranks of Soldiers standing to their Arms, Pinarius, and Coriolanus surrounded by his chief Officers Q Sulpiti-received them seated in his Tribunal, with the State of an Enemy that was resolved to pre-

scribe the Law.

The Romans exhorted him in modest and pathetick Terms to give Peace to the two Nations; and conjured him not to push the Advantages which his Arms had given the Volsci, so far as to forget the Welfare of his Country. But they received only this severe Answer; That they might obtain a Treaty, if they restored to the Volsci the Country which they had taken from them; if they gave that Nation the same Right of Citizens which they had granted to the Latins, and if they recalled the Roman Colonies from the Towns which they had got possession of unjustly. Coriolanus having used this haughty strain as to what related to the Concerns of the Public, came to a more gentle Behaviour towards the Deputies. He offered them in particular to do them all the kind Offices that they cou'd justly expect from an old Friend. But the only Favour those generous Romans asked of him, was, That he wou'd withdraw his Troops from the Territory of Rome, while the Senate and People came to a final determination either for Peace or War. Coriolanus, for their sakes, granted thirty days Truce, to be observed only with respect to the proper Territory of Rome: He then dismissed the Deputies, who promised that the Senate shou'd return him a decisive Answer in the thirty Days. He spent that time in taking

king other Latin Towns, and after that Expedition, appeared once more at the Gates of

Rome with his whole Army.

Other Deputies were immediately sent to him, who conjured him to exact nothing but what might be agreeable to the Dignity of the Roman Name; but Coriolanus, naturally stern and inslexible, without any apparent Anger, but also without Pity, coldly replyed, that the Romans had no other choice but Restitution or War; that he allowed them only three Days more to come to a Resolution, and that after the expiration of this surther Term, they shou'd not be permitted to come to his Camp again.

The Return of these Envoys augmented the Public Consternation. Every Body runs to Arms; fome post themselves upon the Ramparts; others stand to the Guard of the Gates. for fear of being betrayed by the private Adherents of Coriolanus; while some fortify themselves in their very Houses, as if the Enemy had already been Master of the City. In this Confusion there was neither Discipline nor Command. The Confuls, wholly possessed by their Fear, seemed to have renounced the Duties of their Office: The Tribunes were not now so much as heard of. In this universal Terror the common People seemed as it were to receive Orders only from their Apprehenfions: They were no longer the same haughty and intrepid Romans that they used to be; the Courage of the Nation seemed to be gone over with Coriolanus into the Camp of the Volsci. The Senate affembles; Expedient upon Expedient is proposed; no Design is formed becoming the Roman Honour: All determines in fending new Deputies to the Enemy,

and to work upon him the more, they resolve to employ the Ministers of their Religion.

The Priefts, the Sacrificers, the Augurs, and the Guardians of the facred Things, vefted in their Ceremonial Habits, march forth of Rome in a kind of Procession. They enter the Enemy's Camp with a Countenance grave and modeft, and fuch as was likely to strike an Awe upon the Multitude. He that was to speak for all, befeeches Coriolanus by the Respect he owed to the Gods, and by all that was most facred in Religion, to grant Peace to his Country; but they found him equally hard and inexorable. He told them that what they asked lay wholly in the Power of the Romans, who might have Peace whenever they thought fit to restore the Countries which they usurped from their Neighbours. He added, he was not ignorant that the first Kings of Rome, to stir up the Ambition of the Romans, and justify their Robberies, had been fo politic as to spread abroad, that the Gods decreed the Empire of the World to the City of Rome. That the Senate had taken great Pains to keep up an Opinion which Religion had made Reverent; and that the People, prejudiced and infatuated with those Visions, looked upon all Wars to be Just and Holy which tended to the Advancement of their Country's Greatness. But that the Neighbours of Rome did not think themselves bound to submit themselves to their Yoke, upon the Credit of Revelations fo mercenary and fuspicious. That the present State of Affairs sufficiently proved their Falsity; that he must frankly tell them he was fure of carrying the Town very shortly. That the Romans, to avoid restoring Lands unjustly acquired, ran the hazard of losing their rightful

rightful Dominion; and that for his part, he protested before the Gods that he was innocent of all the Blood that was likely to be shed thro' their Obstinacy in detaining the Fruit of their Usurpations. Having then shewn some outward tokens of Respect and Veneration which he thought due to the Sanctity of their Character, he sent them back without abating any thing in the least of his former Demands.

When the People saw them return to Rome without having been able to obtain any Concession, they look'd upon the Republick to be just upon the brink of Destruction. The Temples were crowded with old Men, Women and Children, who all with Tears in their Eyes, and prostrate before the Altars, implored of the

Gods the preservation of their Country.

r

1

y

e

e

1-

e

of

d

ie

le

en

1-

c,

ıs,

ch

's

me

n-

e-

nat

ed

he

ly.

in-

eir

ful

Such was the melancholy face of Things in the City, when a Roman Lady named Valeria, Sister of Valerius Publicola, moved by a kind of divine Inspiration, issued out of the Capitol, accompanied by a great number of Women of her own Condition, to whom she had communicated her Design, and went strait to the House of Veturia the Mother of Coriolanus. They found her with Volumnia, the Wise of that Roman, deploring their own Missortunes and those of Rome.

Valeria accosted them with a look of Sorrow suitable to the present Condition of the Republic: We are Roman Ladies, says she to them,

" that have recourse to Roman Ladies for the

"Safety of their common Country. O Il-"lustrious Women, do not suffer Rome to be-

" come a Prey to the Volsci, and our Enemies to triumph over our Liberty. Go along

"with us even to the Camp of Coriolanus, to

M

"beg

beg of him Peace for his Fellow-Citizens:
All our hope is in the remarkable Veneration, and the tender Love he always had
for so good a Mother, and so virtuous a
Wife. Implore, conjure, demand. So good
a Man can never withstand your Tears. We
will all follow you with our Children: We
will throw our selves at his Feet, and who
knows but the Gods, moved by our honest
Sorrow, may preserve a City whose Defence

" feems wholly abandon'd by Men?

The Tears which Valeria shed in abundance interrupted this Affectionate Discourse, which Veturia answered with equal Sadness: "You apply, Valeria, to a very weak Expe-"dient, when you address your selves to two "Women buried beneath a load of Affliction. "Since that unfortunate Day when the Peo-" ple, in their fury, so unjustly banished Corio-" lanus, we have never feen any thing of that " filial Respect, and that tender Affection which " he till then had always shewn for his Mo-"ther, and for a Wife ever dear to him. When " he returned from the Affembly where he had " been condemned, he look'd upon us with a " fierce Air, and after having continued for "fome time in a gloomy Silence, 'Tis done, " fays he to us, Coriolanus is condemned; our " ungrateful Citizens have banished me for ever " from the Bosome of my Country. Support " this blow of Fortune with a Courage wor-"thy of two Roman Women. I recommend " my Children to your care; Farewell, I now " depart, and leave without regret a City 66 where all Men of Virtue are hated and per-" fecuted: With these words he broke away. We began to follow him; I held his eldest Son

by the Hand, and Volumnia, all drowned in Tears, carried the youngest in her Arms. Then turning to us; "Come no further, fays he, " and give over your vain Complaints. You have " now no Son, my Mother; and thou, Vo-" lumnia, the best of Women, thy Husband is " for ever lost to thee. May the Gods grant " that thou mayest quickly find another, wor-"thy of thy Virtue, and more fortunate than " Coriolanus! His Wife, at these cruel and in-" humane words, swoons away with Grief, " and while I run to her Assistance, he leaves " us abruptly with the Hard-heartedness of a "Barbarian, without so much as receiving our " last Embraces, and without giving us, in so " intolerable an Affliction, the slightest proof " of Compassion for our Misery. He departs " from Rome, alone, without Servants, without Money, and without even telling us to " what part of the World he wou'd direct his Steps. Ever since he left us he has never in " the least enquired after his Family, nor gi-" ven us any account of his Welfare; so that it " feems as if in the general Hatred which he " shews to his Country, his Mother and his "Wife were his greatest Enemies. "What Success then can you expect from " our Intreaties to a Man so implacable? Can "two Women bend that stubborn Heart, " which the Ministers of our Religion them-" felves cou'd not foften? And indeed what " shall I say to him? What can I reasonably " defire of him? That he wou'd pardon un-" grateful Citizens, who have treated him like " a Man blackened with the foulest Crimes? "That he would take Compassion upon a violent " Populace which had none for his Innocence? M 2

0

1.

0-

at

h

0-

en

ad

or

ne,

ur

rer

ort

or-

end

ow

ity

er-

ay.

Son

by

"And that he wou'd betray a Nation, which has not only opened him an Afylum, but has even preferred him to her most illustrious Citizens in the Command of her Armies? With what Brow can I presume to ask him to abandon such generous Protectors, in order to deliver himself again into the Hands of his most bitter Enemies? Can a Roman Mother, and a Roman Wise, with Decency exact from a Son and a Husband things which must dishonour him before both Gods and Men? Mournful Circumstance, in which we have not Power to hate the most formidable Enemy of our Country! Give us up therefore to our unhappy Destiny; leave us buri-

" ed in our just Afflictions.

Valeria and the other Ladies that accompanied her, made no Answer but with their Tears. Some embrace her Knees; others befeech Volumnia to join her Prayers to theirs; all conjure Veturia not to refuse her Conutry this last Affistance. The Mother of Coriolanus, overcome by Intreaties fo urgent, promifes to take this new Deputation upon her, if the Senate agrees to it. Valeria gave advice of it to the Consuls, who made the Proposal of it in full The Affair was long debated: Some opposed it, fearing lest Coriolanus shou'd detain all those Ladies, who were of the chief Families in Rome, and by that means force them to open their Gates without fo much as drawing his Sword. Some were even for fecuring his Mother, his Wife and his Children, as fo many Hostages that might bring him to a better Temper: But the Majority approved this Deputation, faying, that the Gods, who had inspired Valeria with this Defign, wou'd give it Success; and that

that no Treachery was to be apprehended from a Man of the Character of Coriolanus, fierce indeed, severe and inflexible, but not capable of violating the Law of Nations.

This Advice carried it, and next Day all the most illustrious of the Roman Ladies repaired to Veturia's House. There they presently mounted a number of Chariots which the Consuls had ordered to be made ready for them, and without any Guard took the way to the Ene-

my's Camp.

eee

e

e

n

0

g

y

1-

n,

ia

id

at

Coriolanus perceiving from afar that long train of Coaches and Chariots, fent out Persons to fee what it shou'd mean: Word was quickly brought him that it was his Mother, his Wife, and a great number of other Women coming to the Camp. He was at first surprized that Roman Ladies, bred up in that austere Retirement, which was fuch an Honour to them, shou'd prevail upon themselves to come unguarded into an Army of Foes, among Soldiers, who are commonly so licentious and un-ruly. He judged what Views the Romans had in so unheard-of a Deputation: He conceived that this was the last Expedient the Senate cou'd think of to work upon him. He determined to receive them with the same Respect that he had paid to the Ministers of Religion; that is, to give those venerable Women all the Observance which was due to them, but at the bottom to grant them none of their Requests. But he reckoned upon a Savage Resoluteness which was not in his Nature; and he no fooner beheld his Mother and Wife at the Head of this Troop of Roman Ladies, but struck and moved with the fight of Persons so dear to him, he ran hastily to embrace them. At first they expressed M 3

pressed their Joy upon seeing each other again only by their Tears; but after they had given some time to these first workings of Nature. Veturia beginning to enter upon the Subject for which the came, Coriolanus, that he might not make himself suspicious to the Volsci, called the principal Officers of his Army to be Witnesses of what passed in this Interview. They were no fooner come, but Veturia, to engage her Son to have the more regard to the Request she came to make, told him, That all those Roman Ladies, whom he knew, and who were of the best Families in Rome, had omitted nothing, during his Absence, that might give Comfort to her and Volumnia his Wife. That touched with the Calamities of the War, and apprehending the fatal Consequences of the Siege of Rome, they were come to beg Peace at his Hands once more: She conjured him in the Name of the Gods to grant it to his Country, and to turn the Power of his Arms on other Foes.

Coriolanus replyed, that he shou'd offend those very Gods, whom he had called to be Witnesses of the Faith he had given the Volsci, if he granted her so unjust a Demand. That he cou'd not think of betraying the Interests of those who had not only given him an honourable Rank in their Senate, but had also trusted him with the Command of their Army. That he had found at Antium more Honours and Wealth than he had lost at Rome by the Ingratitude of his Fellow-Citizens; and that nothing wou'd be wanting to his Happiness, if she wou'd please to be Partner in his Fortune, and come and enjoy among the Volsci the Honours which they wou'd pay to the Mother of their General.

The

The Volscian Officers, that were present at this Conference, shewed by their Applauses how much they were pleased with this Anfwer; but Veturia, without entering into a comparison between Rome and Antium, which wou'd probably have offended them, contented her self with telling her Son, she wou'd never exact any thing of him that might be a Blemish upon his Honour; but that without being any ways deficient in what he owed to the Volsci, he might mediate a Peace, that shou'd be equally advantageous to both Nations. " And can you, my Son, added she, " raising her Voice, refuse a Proposal so E-" quitable, unless you prefer a cruel and ob-" stinate Revenge to your Mother's Tears and "Intreaties? Confider that your Reply is to " decide the Fate of my Glory, nay and of " my Life too. If I carry back with me to " Rome the hopes of an approaching Peace; " if I return with the Affurances of your "Reconciliation; with what transports of " Joy shall I be received by our Fellow-Citi-" zens? Those few Days which the Gods or-" dain me yet to pass on Earth, shall be sur-" rounded with Glory and with Honours. " Nay, my Happiness shall not end with this " Mortal Life; and if it be true, that there " are different places for our Souls after Death, " I shall not need to have the least fear of "those obscure and gloomy Caverns where " the Wicked are confined: The Elyfian "Fields, that delicious Abode fet apart for " the Virtuous, will not even suffice for my " Reward. After having faved Rome, the "City so dear to Jupiter, I may presume to " hope for a place in that pure and sublime "Region M 4

1

e

e

n

1-

cr

fè

of

it-

ot

ho

in

he

nd

he

el-

nt-

be

OY

u'd

The

Region of the Air, which is supposed to be "Inhabited by the Children of the Gods. " But I give my felf up too much to these of pleasing Views. What will become of me, " if thou perfistest in that implacable Hatred, whose fatal Effects we have already felt too " much? Our Colonies expelled by thy Arms, from most of the Cities which acknow-66 ledged the Empire of Rome; thy unbridled "Soldiers spread thro' the Land, and carrying Fire and Sword along with them where-" ever they go, ought they not to have af-" fwaged thy Thirst of Vengeance? And 66 hast thou had the Heart to lay waste the " Country which gave thee Birth, and nourish'd thee fo long? The moment thou sawest the "Towers of Rome from afar, did it not come into thy mind, that thy Gods, thy House, "thy Mother, thy Wife, and thy Children were inclos'd within her Walls? Dost thou 66 believe, that, covered with the shame of a " contemptuous Denial, I can patiently wait till thy Arms have pronounced our Doom? " A Roman Woman knows how to die, when " her Honour calls upon her fo to do; and " if I cannot move thee, know I have re-" folved to give my felf Death in thy Prc-66 fence. Thou shalt not march to Rome without treading over the Body of her to 66 whom thou owest thy Being; and if a fight of fo much Horror has not Power to stop thy Fury, remember at least, that by means of thy endeavouring to bring Rome into " Chains, thy Wife and Children cannot avoid a 66 speedy Death, or a tedious Servitude.

Coriolanus, tost with the violence of contending Passions, stood unable to make Reply:

Hatred

c sie en

0

S,

7-

ed

y-

e-

f-

nd

ne

'd he

ne

le,

en

ou

a

ait

1 ?

en

nd

e-

C-

me

to

ht

op

uns

ito

da

n-

y: red

Hatred and defire of Revenge balanced in his Heart the impression which so moving a Discourse made, in spite of all his Resolution. Veturia, who faw he was shaken, but who was afraid his Rage might prevail above his Pity: "Why dost thou not answer me, my Son, " faid she? wilt thou not know thy Mother? " Hast thou forgot the Care I took of thy "Infancy? And canst Thou, who makest War " only to Revenge thy self of the Ingratitude " of thy Fellow-Citizens, deny me the first "Favour I ever asked thee, without blacken-"ing thy felf with the very same Crime? If "I required thee to betray the Volsci, who "have given thee so generous a Reception, "thou wou'dst have just cause to reject such " a Proposal. But Veturia is uncapable of put-"ting her Son upon any thing Base: Thy "Glory is more dear to me, even than my " own Life. I only defire thee to withdraw "thy Troops from the Walls of Rome: Al-" low us a Truce for a Year, that in this In-" terval Measures may be taken to procure a " folid Peace. Grant this, my Son, I conjure "thee by Jupiter, all Good and all Powerful, " who presides at the Capitol; by the Manes " of thy Father and of thy Ancestors. If my "Prayers and Tears are not able to move " thee, behold thy Mother at thy Feet, im-" ploring of thee the Preservation of her "Country: "And with these Words, melting in Tears, the embraces his Knees; his Wife and Children do the same, and all the Roman Ladies that were with her beg for Mercy by their Cries and Tears.

Coriolanus transported and as it were besides himself to see Veturia at his Feet, cries out:

Ah! my Mother, what is it you do? And tenderly pressing her Hand in lifting her up: " Rome is faved, fays he to her, but your Son " is lost; " well foreseeing, that the Volsci wou'd never forgive him the Regard he had to her Intreaties. He then took her in private with his Wife, and agreed with them, that he wou'd endeavour to obtain the Consent of the Principal Officers in his Army, for raising the Blockade. That he wou'd use all his Credit and Endeavours to bring the Community of the Volsci to terms of Accommodation; and that if the former Success had made them obstinate, and he cou'd not prevail, he wou'd lay down his Command, and retire to some neutral City; that his Friends might then manage the Repeal of his Sentence, and his Return to Rome. He then took his leave of his Wife and Mother, after having tenderly embraced them, and thought of nothing now but how to obtain an honourable Peace for his Country.

The next Day he called a Council of War; he there represented the difficulty of forming the Siege of a City which had a formidable Army for its Garrison, and where there were as many Soldiers as there were Inhabitants; and concluded for a Retreat. No body contradicted his Opinion; tho' after what had passed, they cou'd not be ignorant of the Motives of this new Resolution. The Army immediately began its March; and the Volsci, more affected with the filial Respect he had shewn for his Mother, than with their own Interest, retired

all to their several Cantons.

But Tullus, the General, who had received him at first with so much Humanity, jealous of the Credit he had gained with the Soldiers, laid hold hold of this occasion for destroying him; and he no sooner saw him returned to the City of Antium, but he publickly gave out that he had betrayed the Interests of the Volsci. He was summoned before the general Council of the Nation; and as he was beginning to give the Reasons of his Conduct in a public Assembly, Tullus, who no less feared his Eloquence than his Valour, raised a Tumult, under favour of which his Instruments threw themselves upon him and D. H. 1.84 stabbed him; the miserable and almost unavoidable Fate of all those who have the Missortune to take Arms against their Country.

Such was the End of this Great Man, too Haughty indeed for a Republican, but who by his great Qualities and Services deserved a better Treatment both from the Volsci and the Romans. When his Death was known at Rome, the People shewed neither Joy nor Grief; and perhaps they were not forry that the Volsci had freed them from the perplexity of recalling a Patrician whom they no longer feared, and still

hated.

e

C

C

if

d

-

it

of

er

It

14

5

g

t-

d,

y

is

dof

d

ld

24 OC 62

End of the Second Book.



THE

HISTORY

OFTHE

REVOLUTIONS

That happened in the Government

OF THE

ROMAN REPUBLIC,

Воок III.

Sp. Cassius Viscellinus, a Patrician, conceives hopes of getting himself acknowledged King of Rome, by means of the Divisions that reign in the City. To bring the People over to his side, he proposes in the Senate to have an Account taken of the conquered Lands, in order to divide them equally among the Citizens. This is what was called the Agrarian Law. Virginius, Cassius's Collegue in the Consulship, and C. Rabuleïus,

Rabuleius, Tribune of the People, to hinder the execution of the Consul's Proposal. A Decree of the Senate, empowering O. Fabius and C. Cornelius, Consuls elect. to name Commissioners for the Partition of the Lands. Cassius condemned to die. Menenius, the Son of Agrippa, and Sp. Servilius, are impeached by the Tribunes, for having in their Consulship opposed the Nomination of those The first is fined, and shuts Commissioners. himself up in his House, where he starves himself to Death: The second disperses the Danger bythis Constancy. Volero. A Law proposed by him for the Assemblies by Tribes. This Law passes in spite of Appius. The Tribunes in conjunction with the Consuls demand the execution of the Senate's Decree for the division of the conquered Lands. Appius prevents this Demand from taking effect. The Death of that Confular gives the Tribunes room to profecute this bufiness anew; but without Success.



g of

cign

bis

ount

vide

vhat

ius,

C. eius, HIS Aversion in the People to all that bore the Name of Patricians, arose only from the Jealousie of the Government. But as it had hitherto cost the Senate no more than the

Establishment of the Tribunes, and the Banishment of a private Man, the zealous Republicans were not displeased with this opposition of Interests, which by keeping an even balance between the credit of the Great, and the People's Power, served to maintain the public Liberty. Such was the disposition of the Peoples Minds, when an Ambitious Patrician took it in his Head, that by driving the Contention somewhat further, and making himself the Chief

Chief of one of the Parties, he might destroy them both, and upon their Ruins lay the Foun-

dation of his own Advancement.

Year of Rome 267, or 163.

This Patrician was named Sp. Cassius Viscellinus; he had commanded Armies, obtained the Honour of a Triumph, and was then actually the third time Conful. He was a Man naturally Vain and Ostentatious, always exaggerating his own Services, despising those of others, and ascribing to himself all the Glory in any good Success. Blinded by inordinate Ambition, he had the Presumption to aspire to the Royalty fo folemnly proscribed by the Laws; and in the secret design, which he had long before formed of restoring it in his own Person, he did not hesitate what Party he shou'd join in with. He resolved first to gain the affection of the People, who always give themfelves up implicitely to those who know how to catch them with the specious Bait of promoting their Interest.

His Partiality openly appeared during his second Consulate, at the time when the Establishment of the Tribunes was in dispute. It is true, his politic condescentions might be attributed to his defire of feeing the People reunited to the Senate; but his late suspicious Conduct with relation both to the Hernici, and the Roman People, entirely convinced the Senate that his Views and Interests were diffe-

rent from those of the Republic.

The Hernici, or Hernicians, were one of those Nations neighbouring upon Rome, who, as we have already faid, inhabited part of Latium. After the Death of Coriolanus, they entered into a League with the Volsci against the Ro-Aquilius, who was then Consul with T. Sicinius, 1-

c

n

f

y

e

0

e

n

e

V

.

S

t

T. Sicinius, had defeated them. Cassius, who succeeded him in the Consulship, and in the conduct of that War, reduced them by the mere Terror of his Arms to fue for Peace; they applied to the Senate, which referred the D. H. l. 8. Affair to the Consul. Cassius, without so much Liv. Dec. 1. as making them acquainted with the Articles 1. 2. of the Treaty, granted Peace to the Hernici, and left them the third part of their Territory. By the fame Treaty he gave them the Title fo much courted by others, of Allies and Citizens of Rome; so that he treated the Vanquished as favourably as if they had been Vi-Etorious. In order to make himself Friends both within and without the State, he fet apart for the Latins one half of what remained of the Lands of the Hernici, and the other half he divided among the poor Plebeians of Rome. He even endeavoured to recover out of the Hands of some private Persons parcels of Land which he faid belonged to the Public, and which he intended to have distributed also among poor Citizens. He then demanded the Honour of the Triumph, with as much Confidence as if he had gained some glorious Victory; and obtained by his Credit a Reward which used never to be granted but to Generals who had fought some Important Battel with great Success, and had left at least Five Thoufand of the Enemy dead upon the Spot.

The next Day after his Triumph, according to custom, he gave an Account, in an Assembly of the People, of all that he had done for the Glory and Service of the Republic, during the last Campaign. As his Exploits that Year afforded him nothing sufficiently shining, he ran chiefly upon his former Services. He

Id. D. H.

represented that in his first Consulate he had overcome the Sabines; that his second Consulate was made illustrious by the share he had in the erection of the Tribuneship; that now in his third he had already incorporated the Hernici into the Commonwealth, and proposed before the end of it to render the condition of the Plebeians so happy, that they shou'd not envy that of the Patricians. He added, that he slattered himself the Roman People must needs allow that they had never received so many Benefits before from one single Citizen.

This Discourse was heard with Pleasure by a People always fond of Novelty. The Senate on the contrary, who were fearful of Cassius's ambitious Spirit, were not without Uneafiness. Every Body in Rome, thro' different Motives, impatiently expected the explanation of this mighty Promife. The Conful affembled the Senate, and after having faid a great many things in praise of the People, he observed that Rome owed to him not only her Liberty, but also the Empire she had acquired over one part of her Neighbours. He added, that to him it seemed very unjust that so brave a People, who daily exposed their Lives to enlarge the Bounds of the Republic, shou'd languish in a shameful Poverty, while the Senate, the Patricians, and the Body of the Nobility alone enjoy'd the Fruits of their Conquests. That it was his Advice, that in order to bring the Condition of the poor Citizens to some equality with that of the Rich, and enable them to subsist, they shou'd take an exact account of all the Lands which had been won from the Enemies, and which the Patricians had feized to their own use, and make a new division

a

fo

of

gi R

Fa

CU

in

bro

division of them without any regard to those who, upon different Pretences, had appropriated them to themselves; and that such a division wou'd give the poor *Plebeians* an Ability of bringing up Children useful to the State. He added, that nothing but so equitable a Partition cou'd restore the Union and Equality which there ought to be among the Citizens of one and the same Republic: It was then, says Livy, that the Agrarian Law was proposed for the first time.

It wou'd be difficult to express the Surprise, Indignation, and Rage of the Senate, at the Mention of such a Proposal. But in order to give a true Notion to what a degree it was ruinous to the Great, and defirable by the People, I think I cannot avoid repeating part of what I have already faid, with relation to these publick Lands. When the Romans had gained any confiderable Advantage over their Neighbours, they never granted them Peace without taking from them part of their Territory, which was immediately incorporated This was indeed the most with that of Rome. usual Design of their Wars, and the chief Fruit which they looked for from the Victory. Few are to learn, and I have faid elsewhere, that one part of these conquered Lands were fold to reimburse the State with the Expence of the War, another Portion was distributed gratis among Poor Pleberans newly fettled at Rome, who had no Inheritance of their own; fometimes a number of Parcels was let out to Farm, and by way of Feofment, and the Occupiers paid the Rent in Money, in Fruits or in Corn, which was fold, and the Produce brought into the public Treasury. And lastly,

y

S.

g

e

le

C-

n

ns

W W

The History of the Revolutions

as the chief Wealth of the Romans in those Days consisted in Cattel and Flocks, what remained of these conquered Lands was left in

Commons and to serve for Pastures.

This disposition banished Poverty out of the Republic, and bound the Citizens to its defence. But the greedy Patricians deprived the common People of this Subsistance: Tracts of Land of prodigious extent, fet apart for the Support of the whole State, became infenfibly the Patrimony of a few private Persons. any Parcel were fold to defray the Charges of a War, the Senators, who were the only rich Men in those times, being the Directors of the Sale, caused it to be adjudged to themselves at a very inconsiderable Price; so that the public Treasure hardly received any Advantage from it. By means of the same Authority they took either under borrowed Names, or else in their own, the Lands that ought to have been let out to Farm to poor Plebeians, to help them to maintain their Children. Oftentimes by ill-defigned Loans and accumulated Usuries, they got the little Inheritances which the People had received from their Ancestors yielded to them. Lastly, the Rich, by fetting the Land-marks of their Estates further and further by degrees, had swallowed up and confounded most of the Commons; so that neither the State in general, nor the Plebeians in particular, received any Benefit worth mentioning from these Foreign Lands. The Patricians who had got into Possession of them, had inclosed them with Walls: Fine Structures were built upon them; Troops of Slaves taken Prisoners in War manured them for the Account of the Great Men of Rome, and now a long Prescription

th

W

fel

th

T

Wa

Po

feli

Pa

He

Prescription had covered these Usurpations. The Senators and Patricians had hardly any other Income besides these public Lands, which had passed successively thro' different Families

by Deaths, Partition, or Sale.

Whatever Shew of Equity there was in Caffius's Proposal, it was impossible to bring it into a Law without ruining at once the Senate and chief Nobility, and raising an infinite Number of Law Suits about Trusts among all the Families in Rome, and accordingly most of the Senators stood up against him with great Animosity. Without any respect to his Dignity, they publickly reproached him with his Pride, his Ambition, and the desire he had of stirring up new Troubles in the Commonwealth. They loudly declared Cassius did not act so much like a Consul as like a seditious Tribune.

Cassius had brought this Affair first into the Senate, only in complyance with the usual method of proceeding, which did not admit of proposing anything to the People, with which the Senate had not been first made acquainted. But as he well forefaw the Opposition he met with there, he then applied to the People, and in a public Assembly, told them, that he came to discharge his Promise, and that it shou'd be wholly their own fault if they did not free themfelves at one stroke from the Indigence, to which the Avarice of the Patricians had reduced them. That all they had to do for this purpose, was to divide the conquered Lands by equal Portions among all the Citizens; that he himfelf had lately fet them the Example in the Partition he had made of the Territory of the Hernici among that Nation, the Latins, and the N 2 poor

r

d

t

1-

7-

1,

es

en

nt

g

nc

poor Plebeians of Rome. That it was the People's business to compleat so great a Work by ratifying that Disposition, which might serve them as a Rule to take order about what was past, and a Precedent to act upon for the suture; and that by so just a Law they wou'd for ever banish Poverty, Envy, and Discord.

The People at first received this Proposal with great Applauses; but most of the Tribunes, who cou'd not without Jealousie see that a Patrician and a Consul shou'd go about to gain to himself the Confidence of the Multitude to their prejudice, kept a profound Silence, which hindered their Adherents and the Heads of the Tribes from declaring openly for the Law. Not but that both the one and the other were sensible of the Advantage it wou'd be of to the People, as we shall find hereafter; but they were unwilling that the People shou'd be obliged for it to a Patrician, and that a Conful shou'd be looked upon as the Author of the Law. Thus, without either approving or opposing it openly, they waited for some other Opportunity, when they themfelves might have in the Eyes of the People the Merit of getting it passed.

Virginius, Cassius's Collegue in the Consulate, did not attack it directly: he pretended on the contrary to be sensible of the Justice of it in general; but to elude the Publication of it, he loudly blamed the use that Cassius had lately put it to, pretending that by the division which he had made of the Lands of the Hernici, between that People, the Latins and the Romans, he had set the Conquerors and the Vanquished upon a shameful Equality. At the same time he let fall some Suspicions against his Collegue,

Livy l. 2.

as if by that Distribution made in so extraordinary a manner, in favour of their old Enemies, he had fought to make them his Creatures to the Prejudice of the State: " What "Reason was there, cried he, for restoring to " the Hernici the third part of a Territory
fo lawfully conquered? What can be his " End, in giving the Latins the better part of "what remained, unless it be to plain himself " a way to the Tyranny? Rome has cause to " fear those Nations, still jealous of her Great-" ness notwithstanding their new Alliance, " may one Day come to set Cassius at their "Head like a fecond Coriolanus, and under his "Conduct attempt to render themselves Ma-" sters of the Government.

This Comparison with Coriolanus, which recalled to the People's Minds the thought of a Patrician whose Memory was so odious to them, cooled their first heat for the reception of this Law. The Tribunes themselves gave Intimations that the Author was suspicious to them too. Cassius perceiving his Party grew weaker than ever, fent underhand for a great number of Latins and Hernici to come to Rome, telling them, that in quality of Roman Citizens, it concerned them to be present at the next Assembly to defend their Rights, and to get a Ratification of the Partition of Lands which he had made in their favour.

Upon this, great numbers of thosenew Citizens immediately flocked to Rome. Cassius was indifferent whether the Law was received or no; he had proposed it only with a view of raifing a Sedition, wherein he might have an opportunity of putting himself at the Head of one of the Parties, which might be able to make him N 3

Maiter

e

Master of the Government. The Coldness which appeared in the Tribunes disconcerted all his Measures. To engage the People to joyn him, he never went thro' the City without a numerous guard of Latins and Hernici. Virginius, in order to disperse this Faction, published an Order, requiring all the Allies, that were not Inhabitants of Rome, to depart the City forthwith. Cassius opposed this Edict, and a Herald by his Order published another directly to the contrary effect, permitting them to remain there. This Opposition raised new Commotions in the City: The two Magistrates were resolved to be equally obeyed: Their Lictors were quarrelling and fighting every Moment; and this Competition between two Parties, which both grew stronger and stronger daily, was just degenerating into a Civil War, when one of Tribunes of the People, named C. Rabuleius, undertook to restore Quiet to the Republic, and, like an able Tribune, to procure the whole Advantage for the People.

He remonstrated in a public Assembly, that it was an easie matter to reconcile the Opinions of the two Consuls; that both were agreed upon the Justice of the Partition; only that Cassius was for extending the Liberality to the Allies, and Virginius seemed inclined to restrain it wholly to the Citizens of Rome. That for his part, with Virginius, he thought it but reasonable to begin with doing Justice to the Roman People, who with the Price of their Blood had acquired these Lands for the Republic; and that as to those which might be conquered hereaster by their joynt Forces, regard shou'd be had in suture Partitions to the assistance

that

that shou'd be given by the Latins and Hernici. And that with respect to the general Division proposed by Cassius, the Senate and People wou'd take such Measures as shou'd be most agreeable to the Good of the Commonwealth.

Under these Appearances of an equitable and moderate Conduct, the Tribune concealed his design of pushing the Business of the Partition more briskly than ever, as soon as he had got it out of Cassius's Hands. By this means he made that the Assembly broke up without coming to any Determination as to the General Division of all the Conquered Lands. Cassius, ashamed of the ill Success of his Ambitious Aims, hid himself in his House, whence

pretending Sickness he never stirred.

d

n

V

e

5,

2,

at

i-

a-

ly

ta

e-

at

a-

an

bc

C;

ed

r'd

ce

Mean while the Senate, who well knew that the business of the Partition of the Lands was only delayed, affembled extraordinarily to prevent betimes any Attempt that the Tribunes might make to promote it. Several Opinions were offered: the Advice of Appius, that intrepid Defender of the Laws, was, that in order to appeale the Peoples just Complaints, the Senate shou'd name ten Commissioners to take an exact Information of all fuch Lands as belonged originally to the Public. That they shou'd sell one part of these for the use of the Treasury, distribute another part among the poorest Citizens, who had no Inheritance in Land, restore the Commons, and place sufficient Land-marks wherever they were necesfary, the want of which had caused the Abuses that were then complained of. That as to the remainder of those Lands, they shou'd ne-N 4

ver let them out for above five Years at a time, and that always at the full Rent, and that the Produce shou'd be employed in providing Corn and Pay for the Plebeians that went to War. That this Regulation wou'd hinder them from thinking any more of the Partition of the Lands; and that they wou'd undoubtedly prefer Corn, Money, and a certain Subsistance during the whole Campaign, to a Slip of Land which they must cultivate with the Sweat of their Brows; and that he knew no surer way of reforming the ancient Abuses, than to restore things to the Spirit of their Primitive Institution.

The Senate gave great Praises to Appius for his Advice; but they were very far from being fincere. Most of the Senators, whose whole Estates lay in these Lands, cou'd not bear to hear a word of Restitution. However, to blind the Eyes of the People, the Senatust consultum was drawn upon Appius's Scheme. But to stave off the Execution of it, the same Decree expresly provided, that whereas the Consulate of Cassius and Virginius was upon the point of expiring, nothing shou'd be done in it till Q. Fabius and Ser. Cornelius, the Consuls elect, entered upon their Office, and that they shou'd be impowered to name the Decemvirs, who were to regulate the Affair of the Partition of the Lands. Nay, and the chief of the Senate resolved among themselves to Impeach Cassius, and to prosecute him severely, in order to intimidate all such as might be tempted for the future to stir in this Affair.

Rome 2 8 two new Confuls had taken Possession of their Dignity,

Dignity, Cassius's own Father was the Man that accused him to the Senate of having endeavoured to make himself the Tyrant of his Country; and that this severe Roman, like another Brutus, having laid the Proofs of his Crime before a full Senate, took his Son home to his House, and there caused him to be put to Death Val. Max. in the Presence of his whole Family. But Dyo-1.5. c. 8. nysius Halicarnasseus informs us, that it was Fa- D. H. I. 3, bius Cæsar, Brother to the first Consul, and L. Valerius, the Grandson of Publicola, both Quæstors, that made themselves Parties in this Affair, and who having convened the Assembly of the People according to the Power appertaining to their Office, accused Cassius for having introduced Foreign Troops into the City. with design to oppress the Liberty of his Coun-

try-men.

Cassius appeared in the Assembly dress'd in Mourning, in a Habit conformable to his prefent Circumstances. He represented to the People, that it was them the Senate attacked in his Perfon, and that he was odious to the Patricians, only because he had proposed to oblige them to share with the People the Lands which they had unjustly seiz'd to their own use. And the more to engage the Multitude in his Defence, he added, that they ought also to restore to the poor Plebeians the Money which they had been made to pay for the Corn that the King of Sicily had fent to Rome as a Present. But that generous People, who in their greatest Indigence thought Slavery far more insupportable than Poverty, rejected all Offers that came from a Man of fuch suspicious Conduct. Thus he faw himself at once abandoned by the People, and projecuted by the Senate; and he was condemned

demned by the unanimous Voice of all his Fellow-Citizens. The late Example of Coriolanus, whose Exile had proved so dangerous, made that Cassius was sentenced to Die. That Consular, who had been honoured with two Triumphs, was thrown down from the Top of the Tarpeian Rock; and the Patricians had the Satisfaction of destroying by the Hands of the Plebeians themselves, a declared Advocate

for the Interests of the People.

A Proceeding so resolute quite stunned the Multitude. It was some time before a word was heard again of making Inquiries about the Public Lands; the Execution of the Senatusconsultum, and the Nomination of the Decemvirs lay suspended. This great Affair came to be one of those State-Mysteries which no Body dares to touch upon: The People, intimidated, kept in a profound filence for some time; but their Necessities insensibly revived their Complaints. The common People began to regret their Loss in Cassius; they blamed themselves for his Death; and with a late Acknowledgment, which was little better than downright Ingratitude, gave useless Praises to the Memory of a Man whom themselves had deftroved.

The Senate fearing another Cassius might get into the Consulship, used all imaginable Precautions to keep that supreme Dignity from salling to any but Patricians whom they might safely rely upon; and they were in a manner absolute Directors of that Election, which was never made but in Assemblies by Centuries, where the Patricians had the Majority of Voices. Thus Lucius Emilius and Ceso Fabius, M. Fabius and Lucius Valerius, attained successively

Year of Rome 269, 270.

to the Consulship. In the Resolution which the Senate had taken of letting the Senatusconsultum drop, they thought they cou'd not trust this their secret Design to any more safely than to Fabius Cefo, and Lucius Valerius, the Accufers of Cassius, and the Men who had precipitated him in a manner with their own Hands from the The People faw the artful-Tarpeian Rock. ness of this management; they perceived that none were brought into the Confulship but Patricians that wou'd be fure never to nominate the Decemvirs that were to proceed in the Division of the Lands. In these Circumstances, the War, that was indeed almost continual, against the Volsci being broke out afresh, and the two Confuls, M. Fabius, and L. Valerius, who were then in Post, having defired some Recruits to compleat their Legions, a Tribune named C. Menius opposed it, and publickly protested that he wou'd never suffer any Plebeian to give his Name to be inrolled till the Consuls had first brought the Senatusconsultum into a full Affembly of the People, and named those Commissioners that were to put it in Execution. The Confuls, to extricate themselves D. H. 1 8: from this Perplexity, and to get over the Tri-Liv Dec.1. bunes Opposition, carried their Tribunal out 1. 2. of Rome, beyond the Jurisdiction of the Tribunes, whose Power and Functions were confined within the City Walls. The Confuls then fent a Summons to the Plebeians that were to march into the Field. These, relying upon the Tribune's opposition, did not appear, and were under no Apprehensions, while that subsisted, that the Confuls wou'd offer to seize them. But those Magistrates took another method to make themselves obeyed; and without ever return-

C

0

y ,

-

t

n

t

r

IS

to

ing to Rome, being unwilling to have any Contest with the Tribunes, they gave order for demolishing the Country Seats, and cutting down the Trees belonging to the chief Plebeians that

had refused to attend their Summons.

This Military Execution brought the People to their Duty; they immediately ran and offered themselves before the Consuls to receive their Commands. Every one took Arms; they marched against the Enemy; the War was carried on without any remarkable Success; and the Confuls detained the Soldiers in the Field as

long as possible, to avoid new Seditions.

But when they were returned, and the time was come for the Election of new Confuls, Discord raged out again with more Fury than ever. The principal Men of the Senate, who were the most nearly touched by the Inquisition into the public Lands, designed that Post for Appius Claudius, the Son of him we have already spoke of. He had inherited from his Father a considerable Estate, a great number of Clients, and particularly that Haughtiness and Resolution which had made him so odious to the Multitude. Accordingly the People wou'd not hear of him, but demanded some of those ancient Senators that had shewn themselves most their Friends. Each Party remained obstinate in the Resolution they had taken. Senate flattered themselves that they shou'd carry this Affair with a high hand in an Assembly by Centuries. The Confuls call'd it as usual, and according to the Power annexed to their Dignity; but the People, by the instigation of their Tribunes, made so much Noise, and there were such violent and bitter Contests and Dissputes, that it was impossible to proceed to the Election

Election that Day. This was the private aim of the Tribunes, who with a Presumptuousness never before heard of, convened a second Asfembly for next Day. The Confuls and the Senate in a Body did not fail to be at it; and they demanded of the Tribunes by what Authority they durst take upon them to preside at the Election of Confuls. They replyed, that their Concern for the People's welfare obliged them to prevent their having Tyrants imposed upon them for Magistrates; and that if the Senate did not chuse Men of unquestionable Characters, they shou'd find ways to prevent any Election that might be prejudicial to the People. Some Senators, provoked at this Audaciousness, were immediately for having the first Consul name a Dictator; who by the fovereign and absolute Power of his Office, might severely punish the Authors of these Innovations. But as there was room to fear that the People wou'd openly revolt, the wifer and more moderate part of the Senate thought it wou'd be imprudent in such a Conjuncture to venture the supreme Authority among a whole People work'd up to Fury. A more gentle Course was taken. Senate contented themselves with creating an Inter-Rex, as was practis'd under the Kings du-D. H. 1. 8; ring any Vacancy of the Throne. This shortlived Magistracy was given to A. Sempronius Year of Atratinus, who delivered it over to Sp. Largius. Rome That Magistrate, who was of a Spirit inclining to 271. a Reconciliation, represented to the Senate, that by continuing obstinate to promote Appius to the Consulate, they might at length rouse up a dangerous Sedition, and risque the losing their Privilege of electing the Confuls in an Assembly by Centuries, which made them always the Directors

t

s

d

0

de

25

j-

e

r-

ir

ρf

re

f-

nc

on

Directors of that Election. That it nearly concerned them to avoid every thing with the greatest Caution that might prejudice so valuable a Prerogative, which they might make use of in Appius's behalf in some more favourable opportunity. In short, the Inter-Rex managed both Parties so artfully, that he prevailed on each to abate somewhat of its Demands. It was agreed that the Election shou'd still be made as usual, and by the Votes of the Centuries; but that upon this particular occasion one of the Consuls shou'd be wholly in the nomination of the People, who shou'd chuse which of the Senators or Consulars they thought sit, and that the Senate shou'd appoint his Colleague.

A Union being brought about upon these Conditions, they proceeded only for form sake to the Election of the Consuls. The Tribunes got that Dignity bestowed upon C. Julius Iulus, whom every Body knew to be of the People's Party, and a Slave to the Tribunes. The Patricians named for his Colleague Q. Fabius Vibulanus, descended of a Family made illustrious by almost continual Consulates, and who without having ever offended the People, had nevertheless upon all Occasions stood up for the

Rights and Prerogatives of the Senate.

The People flattered themselves with hopes that having a Consul at their Devotion, they should now get the Commissioners to be named, and at length obtain the Partition of the Lands. But a plain Instance was then seen of the difference there is between those that raise themselves to high Dignities by base and abject Compliances, and those generous Men whose Personal Merits, as well as Birth, naturally place those Honours upon them. C. Julius did in-

deed

tl

deed make some slight attempt to publish the Senatusconsultum, but scarce durst he so much as maintain his Opinion against that of Fabius. The Senate's Consul, if we may use such an Expression, had assumed so great a Superiority over the People's, tho' their Dignities were equal, that there seemed to be but one in the Republic all this Year. Fabius obliged him to go out of Rome along with him, and to march against the Equi and the Veientes. They were Nations of Tuscany that had made Inroads upon the Territories of the Romans: These latter made Reprisals, and this Expedition terminated in the Ravage of the Country.

These petty Wars were the ordinary Expedients used by the Consuls, who to divert the common Complaints of the People, led them out of Rome upon that Pretence, and carried the War abroad with intent to give their Soldiers, at the Enemy's Cost, a Subsistance that might make them forget their old Claims. But these continual Wars made them still more sierce, and the next Peace generally revived, in those unruly Spirits, the Discord which the War had

only suspended.

e

1-

1-

r-

ce

1-

ed

It broke out afresh upon the Election of the Consuls. The People, being tied up to chuse none but Nobles, cou'd at least have wished they might have had only such of that Order as seemed to be Plebeians in their Inclination. They even affirmed loudly in the Assemblies, that 'twas enough the People wou'd suffer the Consuls to be always taken out of the Body of Patricians, without being forced to receive such as were most averse to the Partition of the Lands. The Senate, on the contrary, reserved that Dignity only for those in whom they

Year of Rome 272. Liv. l. 2. D. H. in principio ras, 1. 2. Val. Max.

1 9. c. 3.

found most Courage and Resolution; each Party flood to its Pretentions with equal warmth; but at length the Affair was accommodated. They agreed to go by the same Rule as in the last Election. The People again named their Consul, tho' still one of the Patricians: it was Sp. Furius; and the Senate chose C. Fabius; the Man that even in his Quæstorship had destroy-The business then in agitation was ed Cassius. to continue the War against the Equi and the 1. 9. Zona Tuscans, who had renewed their Incursions. The new Confuls ordered the People to take Arms, but a Tribune named Sp. Icilius vigoroufly opposed it. He declared he wou'd form the same opposition against all the Decrees that shou'd iffue from the Senate, let it be upon what Affair it wou'd, till the Senatusconsultum was brought into the Assembly of the People, and the Commissioners named in pursuance thereof. That it was just the same thing to him whether the Country was ravaged by Enemies, or unjustly possessed by Usurpers. In the mean while the Equi and Veientes put all to Fire and Sword in the Territory of Rome, without the Senate's being able to find Troops to refift them, thro' the Obitinacy of the Tribune who hindered their making any Levy. In this perplexity, Appius, whom we spoke of before, thought of an Expedient which proved very successful. He Liv. Dec.1. represented that the Power of the Tribuneship was formidable only by the Union of the Tribunes; and that if the opposition of a fingle Tribune was of force to suspend the Execution of a Decree of the Senate, it had the same Prerogative as to the Deliberations of his Col-That it was not impossible there leagues. might be a Jealousie among them; that their business

P

h

T

fe

th

T

de

hi

th

am

tw

business was to endeavour to bring it to a Division, and privately to engage some one of them to enter into the Senate's Interests. This Advice was approved and followed; the Senators applied themselves to gain the Friendship of the Tribunes, and they succeeded: Four of that College declared in a public Assembly, that they cou'd not bear that the Enemies, by favour of the Divisions that reigned in the City, shou'd thus lay waste the Country with Impunity. Icilius had the Shame and Mortification of seeing his Opposition over-ruled; the People took Arms, and followed the Confuls to the War. For several Years there was a kind of alternative of Troubles at Home and Wars Abroad, nor cou'd the People all this while bring about the publication of the Law. They laid the whole blame upon the Confuls, and to be revenged of them, Soldiers were found that were not ashamed, at their return from the Army, to turn Accusers or Witnesnesses against their Generals, as if they had wanted Courage or Capacity in the Command of the Army.

e

f

e

c

n

1-

ir

:Is

The House

Scarce was a Consul out of his Office, but he was immediately cited before the Assembly of the People, that is indeed before a Tribunal where his most inveterate Enemies were his Judges. Thus Menenius, the Son of Agrippa, was accurrent of sed, upon pretence that during his Consulate Rome the Enemy had taken the Fort of Cremera. The Tribunes, Q. Considius and T. Genutius, loudly demanded his Death; but the Senate and all D. H. 1. 9. his Friends solicited so earnestly in his behalf, that he was only condemned to pay a Fine that amounted to two thousand asses, that is, about twenty Crowns of our Money, a very incon-

fiderable

fiderable Sum with regard to the Time we write in, but of great consequence in an Age, and in a Republic where the prime Magistrates lived by the labour of their Hands. Nay we may reckon this Fine excessive, with respect to Menenius, whose Father had left him no other Patrimony but his Glory and his Poverty. His Friends offered generously to pay it for him, but he wou'd not suffer it; but pierced to the Heart with the Injustice and Ingratitude of his Fellow-Citizens, he shut himself up in his House, where Grief and Hunger soon dispatched him.

Year of Rome 278.

The People fell next upon another Consular, named Spurius Servilius, who succeeded Menenius in the Consulship. It was charged upon him as a Crime, that in a Battel, wherein he had defeated the Tuscans, he had lost some Troops by pursuing the Enemy with more Courage than Prudence. But this was only the Pretence; the Victory he had gained was a full Apology for that fault. The real Crime of both these Consulars was the having omitted, during their Confulates, to name the Commissioners that were to make the Partition of the Lands.

66

66

66

66 1

« b

cc ti

cc ri

cc tl

" g

" ro

66 ho

Servilius, tho' not unacquainted with the People's Bitterness against him, had recourse neither to Intreaties, nor the Credit of his Friends to escape their Rage. He faced the Danger boldly, and without changing either his Habit or his Countenance, appeared before the Assembly of the People according to his Summons, and addressing his Speech to the Multitude; "If I am fent for hither, fays he, " to give an Account of what pass'd in the last "Battel where I commanded, I am ready to

do it. But if this is only a Pretence to deftroy me, as I suspect, I desire you wou'd

" fave me a needless Trouble. Here is my Body

" and my Life, which you may dispose of just

e

se

is

he

er

C-

to

he

ne,

ait

to

do

" as you please. Some of the more moderate among the Peo- D. H. l. 9. ple having cried out that he shou'd take Courage, and go on with his Defence: "Since I am " to deal with Judges, and not with Enemies, " added he, I am to inform you, Romans, that " I was made Conful with Virginius at a time " when the Enemy was Master of the Coun-" try, and Famine and Diffention raged in the "City. It was in this perplexing Conjuncture " that I was called to the Government of the "State. I marched against the Enemies, whom " I defeated in two Battels, and forced to shut "themselves up in their Towns. And while " they were in a manner block'd up there by " the Terror of your Arms, I ravaged their "Territory in my turn; I got a prodigious " quantity of Corn which I brought to Rome, " where I restored Plenty. What fault have I " committed thus far? Am I guilty of any "Crime in having won two Victories? "But, say my Adversaries, I lost a great ma-" ny Men in the last Engagement: Are Bat-" tels then to be fought against Nations long " hardened to War, and that defend them-" felves stoutly, without Blood being shed on " both fides? What Deity has undertaken for " the Roman People that they shall gain Victories without Loss? Is any Man here to learn, 66 that Glory is acquired only by great Dan-" ger? I engaged with Troops more nume-" rous than those you trusted to my Conduct; " however, after an obstinate Fight I broke

O 2

them.

The History of the Revolutions

"them. I put their Legions in disorder, and " at length they fled. Cou'd I refuse to follow "Victory, when she went before me? Was it " indeed in my Power to restrain your Soldiers, who were carried away by their Courage, " and who warmly purfued a scattered Ene-"my? If I had founded a Retreat, if I had " led our Soldiers back to their Camp, wou'd " not your Tribunes this Day have accused me " of having an Understanding with the Foe? If " your Enemies rallied again, if they were supported by a Body of Troops that advanced " to their Aid; in a word, if we were obliged " to begin the Battel quite afresh; and if in "this Action I lost some Men, is it not the " usual chance of War? Can you find Gene-" rals that will undertake the Command of your "Armies, if you make it a condition that they " shall bring home again to Rome every Sol-" dier that goes out with them into the Field? "Do not then enquire whether at the end of " a Battel I have lost some Men, but judge " of my Conduct by my Victory, and by the " Effects of that Victory. If it be true that I " drove your Enemies out of your Territory; " that I killed great numbers of their Men in " two Battels; that I forced the shattered Re-" mains of their Armies to shut themselves up " in their strong Towns; and that I enriched " Rome and your Soldiers with the Booty which " they got in the Enemy's Country: Let your "Tribunes stand up and tell me to my Face " wherein I have failed in the Duties of a good "General. But that is not what I fear; these " Accusations are only used as a Colour for " their exercifing with impunity the Hatred and Animosity which they bear to the Se-" nate

"

CC

66

"

"

66

66

nate and the whole Order of Patricians. My true Crime, as well as that of the illustrious Menenius, is our neither of us having nomi-" nated, during our Confulates, those Decem-" virs whom you have so long fighed for. But " was it possible we shou'd do it in the hurry " and tumult of Arms, and while our Enemies " were at our Gates, and Discord in the City? "And if we cou'd have done it, know, Romans, that Servilius wou'd never have given "Authority to a Law which cannot be put in " practice without raising a general disturbance in every Family, without occasioning an in-"finite number of Law-Suits, and without " ruining the chief Families of the Republic, and who are her firmest Support. Will you " never ask any thing of the Senate but what " is prejudicial to the common good of our "Country, and never ask but only by Sediti-" ons? If a Senator dares but represent to you " the Injustice of your Pretensions; if a Con-" ful does not speak the seditious Language of " your Tribunes; if he defends couragiously "the Sovereign Power with which he is in-" vested, you immediately cry out, A Tyrant! "Scarce is he out of his Post, but he is over-" whelmed with Accufations. Thus by your " unjust Plebiscitum you took away the Life " of Menenius, no less a great Captain than a " good Citizen. Ought you not to die with " shame at the Thoughts of having so cruelly " persecuted the Son of that Menenius Agrippa " to whom you are obliged for your Tribunes, " and for that very Power which now makes you fo furious? You may perhaps think I " speak with too much freedom in the present "State of my Fortune; but I fear not Death; 0 3 " condemn

pd

h

11

e

bd

se or

ed

e-

ite

Rome280.

"condemn me if you dare; life cannot but be insupportable to a General, that is reduced to answer for his very Victories: And at worst, to undergo the same Fate with Menenius can never be a Dishonour to

" me.

Tear of Rome278 by his Courage; and the People, ashamed of the Death of Menenius, durst not condemn Servilius, who was acquitted by a majority of

Livy.l. 2. Voices. The Preservation of that Consular, D. H. l. 9. escaped from the Fury of the Tribunes, did not make them abate any thing of their Pretensions as to the Division of the Lands. They continued to infect the Multitude with the usual Poison of their seditious Harangues; at length, one of those Tribunes, named Cn.

D. H. l. 9. Genutius, a daring enterprizing Man, and not Uneloquent, publickly cited L. Emilius Mamrear of mercus and Von Julius, both Confuls that Year.

mercus and Vop. Julius, both Consuls that Year, to nominate immediately the Commissioners, that, according to the Senatusconsultum, were to proceed upon the Partition of the Lands, and upon setting up Land-maks, that might put a stop to all Usurpations for the suture.

The two Consuls, to elude his Demand, at first excused themselves from taking cognizance of an Affair that past so long before their Consulate: And to give an appearance of Justice to a Refusal, that indeed proceeded only from their concern for the Interest of their Body, they added that that Senatusconsultum was become void by inexecution; and that every body must know there was this difference between Laws, and the mere Decrees of the Senate, that the one were perpetual and inviolable, where the Senatusconsulta were of

no longer duration, than the Magistracy of him to whom their Execution was committed

The Tribune, without giving any heed to that Distinction, wou'd gladly have attacked those Magistrates directly; but as he foresaw it wou'd be no easie matter to ruin two Consuls, while they were actually invested with the Sovereign Power, he turned his Resentment upon A. Manlius, and L. Furius, whose Offices were but just expired. He cited them before the Assembly of the People; and accused them of having neglected to name the Commissioners, with intent to deprive their poor Citizens and brave Soldiers of the Share which they had fo well deserved in the conquered Lands. That furious Tribune exhorted the People to do Justice to themselves, and added, that there was no way but the Punishment of those great Criminals, and the Terror of fuch an Example, to reduce their Successors to execute at length the Senatusconsultum; and with horrible Oaths, that he wou'd profecute this Affair to the Death, he appointed the Day when the People shou'd inquire into it. This Accufation and these violent Menaces alarm'd the They faw, with no less Indignation than Sorrow, that the Tribunes aimed equally at their Lives and their Fortunes, and that there seemed to be a laid Design of making away with all the Senators one after another. Every one blamed himself for his Patience and Moderation: Several private Councils were held, the refult of which remained buried in a profound Secrecy. In the mean while, the People, who triumphed beforehand, insolently boasted that in spite of all the Senate's Artifices, the Law for the Division of the Lands 0 4

Lands shou'd now pass, nay, that it shou'd be fealed too with the Blood of those that had

opposed it, and that the Death of Cassius shou'd

Zonaras.

Id. D. H.

1bid. 1 9.

not go unrevenged. The Senate equally concealed their Fear and their Resentment. But the very Day before this great matter was to be decided, Genutius was found Dead in his Bed, without the least Marks of Poison or any other Violence. His Body was laid out in the Forum; and the common People, whose Minds eafily run into Superstition, imagined that the Gods disapproved his Enterprize, tho' the wifer fort were inclined to suspect that some Patricians had been the Ministers of the Deity. Nevertheless, this Religious Notion, which had got Possession of the Spirits of the Multitude, inspired them with a great Veneration for the Senate, in whose Favour Heaven seemed to have declared in fo visible a manner. Partition of the Lands was not fo much as mentioned for some time afterwards. Tribunes were confounded, and the Senate might have refumed all their Authority, if upon this Revolution they had not gone about to strain it too high.

There was occasion for raising of Troops, and lifting the Legions to march against the Enemy. The Confuls, guarded by their Littors, held their Tribunal as usual in the Forum; and to make the People feel their Power, either fined or whipt those Citizens that did not appear the very moment they were called to give their Names, and often without the least regard to Justice. A Proceeding so severe already began to alienate the People's Hearts; and the unjust and violent manner, in which the Confuls attempted to list for a common Soldier

a Plebeian that had been Centurion, made their Discontent break out into Action.

This Plebeian, named Volero, had diffinguished himself in the Wars by his Valour, and was esteemed a good Officer. Nevertheles, Liv Dec. L. without regard to his past Services, or the 1. 2. Posts he had born, he was summoned to list Year of himself as a common Soldier. He refused to Rome 280. obey, and complain'd publickly that the Confuls only wanted to difgrace him because he was a Plebeian. Those Magistrates, upon his c. 22. refusal, sent a Lictor to seize him; and upon his making refistance, ordered that he shou'd be beaten with Rods, a Punishment which the Generals used to inflict upon their mutinous Soldiers. They go to take hold of his Person; but Volero full of Courage and Indignation pushes back the Lictor, and striking him a Blow on the Face implores the Protection of the Tribunes. As they feemed to give no regard to his Cries: " I appeal to the "People, fays he, addressing himself to the " Confuls, fince our Tribunes, intimidated by " your Power, had rather see a Citizen a-"bused even in their Presence, than expose "themselves to be strangled in their Beds " like Genutius." Then turning to the People, who feemed provoked at the Violence that was offered him: " Affist me, Comrades, cried he; " we have no other Remedy left us against so

"great a Tyranny but Force.
The People animated by this Discourse take Fire, rise up, attack the Lictors that guarded the Consuls. They break their Fasces, they disperse them; the Majesty of the Consulship is not able to withhold the People's Fury,

and the Confuls are forced to fly and hide themselves.

The Senate immediately meets; the Confuls make their Report of Volero's Rebellion, and conclude, that he ought to be punished as a Disturber of the public Peace, and thrown down from the Tarpeian Rock. Tribunes, on the contrary, demand Justice upon the Confuls, and complain that those Magistrates, in Contempt of the Lex Valeria, and of an Appeal to the Assembly of the Roman People, shou'd offer to scourge a brave Citizen in so ignominous a manner, as if he had been the vilest Slave: A new cause of Dissention between those two Orders of the Republic. Volero, who fear'd the Power of the Consuls, demanded the Tribuneship, which he looked upon as an inviolable Asylum, which would shelter him from the Fury of his Enemies. To obtain that Office, he boasted in a public Assembly, that if ever he were invested with that Dignity, he wou'd take fuch methods, that the People shou'd never be oppress'd by the Senate's Power for the future.

rity in those Assemblies, charmed with the hopes which Volero gave them, granted him all their Voices. He was elected Tribune, in spite of all the Cabals and Brigues of the Patricians; he entered upon the Exercise of that Function in the Consulate of L. Pinarius and P. Furius. The People, who observed Rome281. every Step he took, expected that to revenge himself of the two Consulars, who had ill treated him, he wou'd immediately prosecute them in the way of Justice; but he had farther Views.

He

The Plebeians, who were always the Majo-

He turned his Resentment upon the whole Body of the Senate, and undertook to deprive them of the Authority they had in the Election of the Tribunes.

We have already faid, that there was then but two ways of convening the Assemblies of the Roman People, one by Curiae, and the other by Centuries. The difference between them was, that in the Assemblies by Curiæ the Voices were counted by their Number, which gave the People the Superiority; whereas in the Assemblies by Centuries, as the very Patricians themselves composed more Centuries than all the People, the Advantage lay wholly on their fide. In other respects, the way of convening both those Assemblies was the same; that Prerogative belonged to the Senate: And as in those Days none but Patricians cou'd be Augurs, they were the Men that took the Auspices. Volero perceiving that the Authority of those Augurs, joyned to that of the Senate, had a great Influence in both Assemblies, resolved to remove the Election of the Tribunes out of the Assembly by Curiæ into an Assembly held another way.

He represented to the People in a general D. H. 1. 9. Assembly, that the Senate and Patricians were absolute Masters of the Government; that the chief Dignities of the Republic, all Offices Civil and Military, and those of the Priesthood it self, were confined to their Order. That besides these particular Advantages, they had also the Prerogative of determining by a Senatusconsultum when any Assembly should be held, of presiding in it, of preparing the Deliberations by Auspices, which the Ministers of Religion, Patricians by Birth, always interpreted

-

t

d

d

preted according to the Views and Interests of their own Order; and lastly, that a new Senatusconsultum must be obtained to confirm what was there resolved on. That by means of these various Privileges which they had got into their own Hands, they had but little less Power in the Assemblies held by Curia, tho' there the Voices were gathered by Tale, than in those where the Votes were reckoned only by Centuries. That it was high time to break all these Chains, which the Senate had formed to shackle the Suffrages of the Plebeians. He demanded that in the Election of Tribunes at least they shou'd be permitted to convene a third kind of Assembly to be held by Tribes, wherein the Votes shou'd go by their Number as in that of the Curiæ; but where all the Roman Citizens that then composed the thirty Tribes, as well the Inhabitants of the Country, as those of the City, shou'd equally be allowed a Vote. That they shou'd not for the future have occasion to obtain the Senatusconfultum, which till then had been necessary, both for the Convocation of the Assembly, and the Ratification of what was decreed in it. the Tribunes shou'd of themselves have Power to make such Convocation for the Election of their Successors, and that the Consuls shou'd never more have any thing to do in it. That they shou'd also exclude the Augurs, who never failed to find Flaws in all Elections that were not agreeable to the Senate; and laftly, that those Elections which before were always to be confirmed by a Decree of the Senate, shou'd for the future be ratified only by a Plebiscitum, that is to fay, by an Order of the People.

All the Plebeians warmly declared for a Propofal, which by freeing them and their Magistrates from their dependance upon the Confuls, brought a new Accession of Power to the People at the expence of the Authority of the Senate. The Confuls, on the other hand, the Senate and the whole Order of Patricians opposed it with all their might. They reprefented in divers Assemblies held upon this Affair, that so dangerous a Law cou'd not be received without a daring Contempt of the Gods, and of all that was most holy in Religion, and that it must break those Bonds which tied the Citizens one to another, and ruin that Subordination, which was fo necessary for the maintaining of Peace and Union among the feveral Orders of the State. Each Party stood up for their Pretensions with equal Animosity. It was the common Subject of all Disputes between those two Orders of the Commonwealth. The Contest about the Partition of the Lands was dropt; all the Endeavours of the Great, and of the People seemed to be fixed upon the Decision of this Affair, nor cou'd any Man foresee which way it wou'd end.

A dreadful Pestilence, which insected both the City and Country, interrupted the course of these Dissentions. Each being taken up with his particular Losses and his own Preservation, less Attention was given to the Business of the Public. But this Calamity proving as short as it was violent, the Tribunes immediately resumed their Prosecution of the Law proposed by Volero. That popular Magistrate being just out of his Office, the People, who thought they cou'd not succeed without his Assistance,

1

The History of the Revolutions

Affistance, continued him in the Tribuneship for the following Year, notwithstanding all the

Senate's Opposition.

Year of Rome 282. D. H. l. 9

The Senate thought it necessary to fet up against him a Man of a resolute Character, and one not to be shaken by the Clamours and Menaces of the People. They pitched upon Appius Claudius, and raised him to the Consulship without his participation. It was observed that he was so far from making Interest for that high Post, that he did not so much as appear in the Assembly on the Day of Election. He had inherited his Father's inviolable adherence to the Senate's Interests; but the heroical Constancy of the former was degenerated into Severity in the Son. He was a Man naturally Haughty, tho' without Ambition, was always for carrying things with a high Hand, and for owing nothing to Persuasion, or to that artful Management which is so necessary to the Government of a free People. They gave him for his Collegue T. Quintius, who was of a Character directly opposite, naturally mild and infinuating, and one that had found ways to get the love of the People, tho' he was at the Head of the Party that was against them. The Senate chose him on purpose, hoping that his Counsels and Example wou'd foften what was too harsh and haughty in the Manners of Appius.

These two Consuls being entered upon the Execution of their Office, immediately convened the Senate. The business was to think of the most proper methods for hindering the

Publication of Volero's Law.

Id. D. H.

Appius advised, that upon some Pretence, which is never wanting between Neighbours, a new War shou'd be immediately undertaken.

He

He represented, that the Senate being to govern a People of an unquiet Genius, greedy of Novelties, and incited by seditious Tribunes, Experience had shewn that they cou'd never have Peace within the State, but when they carried the War abroad, and led the People out of a City where Idleness nourished a Spirit of

Murmuring and Rebellion.

Quintius was of a contrary Opinion; he said, he thought it unjust to make War upon Nations against which the Republic had not then any Cause of Complaint; that the People themselves wou'd quickly perceive the Senate's intent in them, and if they refused to take Arms, they must use force to compel them; which could not fail of raising a Sedition, wherein it was to be fear'd the Majesty of the Senate might be exposed to Insults. As Quintius was this Month in Possession of the Lictors, and of the chief Authority, his Collegue was obliged to yield to his Sentiments, which were followed by the Majority of the Senate.

In the mean time Volero, being fully refolved to effect his Designs, was no sooner entered upon his second Tribunate, but he proposed anew the Law for Assemblies of the People by Tribes. He added, in Conjunction with his Collegues, that he demanded in favour of the People, that the Ædiles shou'd be chose in them as well as the Tribunes, and that they shou'd have cognizance of all Affairs which the People had a Right to determine. indeed was neither more nor less than conveying the whole Authority of the Government out of the Hands of the Senate, into those of the People. The Senate was convened again upon these extraordinary Proposals. Quintius, naturally

naturally good-natured, and a thorough Republican, tho' without being popular, was for conceding somewhat in favour of a brave People, from whom, he faid, the Republic daily received important Services. But Appius, haughty and severe, averred, that they shou'd betray the Senate by an Indulgence which would show not so much the Mercy as the Weakness of the Government. That the Tribunes, when they had thus strip'd them of their Power, wou'd not perhaps leave them so much as their Robes bordered with Purple, and the Enfigns of their Dignity. He concluded, that after so many vain Speeches which had been made upon this fame Subject, nothing but a bold stroke of Authority was capable of putting a stop to the seditious Enterprizes of the Tribunes. That the Patricians, with their Clients, ought to take Arms, drive the People out of the Forum; and fall upon all without distinction that durst to be the Protectors of so pernicious a Law. This Advice was rejected as too violent, and even dangerous. The Senate came to a Temperament; they defired of the Tribunes that they wou'd banish out of the public Assemblies those tumultuous Contests and Disputes, in the confusion of which, it was difficult to diffinguish what was Justice and what Reason; that the Consuls too might peaceably, and without interruption, represent to the People the true Interests of the Commonwealth; and that then they might in concert agree upon fuch measures as shou'd be most conformable to the common good of the People and of the Senate.

Id. D. H. The Tribunes durst not refuse to come into so equitable a Proposal. Quintius mounted the Rostrum:

to

Rostrum; he spoke in so lively and so affectionate a manner of the Advantages of Peace, and the Calamities that attended Divisions and Innovations in the Laws, that if Appius had not spoken immediately after him, the People seemed inclined to have rejected Volero's Pro-

pofal.

But that Conful, who understood no way of dealing with Men, but in a haughty and imperious manner, instead of making the true Use of the Impression which his Collegue's Discourse had made in the Minds of his Audience, fell into Invectives, which had the very same Effect as the seditious Harangues of the Tribunes, and only irritated the Plebeians afresh, and gave them a new Aversion to the Senate. He upbraided them in Expressions difagreeable to the Senate it felf, and odious to the People, with their first Desertion upon the Mons Sacer, and the Erection of the Tribuneship, which he said was extorted from the Senate, only by an open Revolt, and the Danger of a Civil War: That it was no wonder a Tribunal fet up by Rebels shou'd produce nothing but Tumults and Discords, which wou'd never end but with the entire Subversion of the Republic; that even already few or no Footsteps were left of the ancient Form of Government: That the most facred Laws were abolished; the Consular Power despised, and the Dignity of the Senate debased: That their Impudence was now grown to such a heighth, that they were for excluding from Elections the Senatus-Consulta and the Auspices, that is to fay, all that was most Sacred and most Venerable in Religion and the State: That e'er long, together with a new Government, they wou'd introduce

introduce into Rome strange Gods; that they wou'd quite abolish the Senate, whose Power they were actually diminishing every Day, in order to raise upon its Ruinsa Supreme Council of the Tribunes of the People. He prayed the Gods to take away his Life, rather than fuffer him to be Spectator of so strange a Revolution. " And to give you at once, adds he " turning to the People, a full Knowledge of my Sentiments, I declare that I will for eec ver constantly oppose the Promulgation of " so unjust a Law; and I hope before your "Tribunes have brought it to bear, " make you know the Extent of the Power of

It was not without the hottest Rage and In-

« a Conful.

Suffrages.

dignation that the People heard fo injurious a Discourse. The oldest of the Tribunes, named Lectorius, who was accounted one of the bravest D.H. ibid. Soldiers in the Republic, answered him, that no Body was then to learn that he came of a Family wherein Infolence and Inhumanity were Hereditary; that his Father was the most bitter Enemy the People ever had, and that he himself was less their Consul than their Tyrant. But that he declared to him in his turn, that spite of his Dignity, and his Power of a Consul, the Elections of the Tribunes and that of the Ædiles shou'd for the future be made in the Comitia of Tribes. He swore by all that was most Sacred, that he wou'd lose his Life, or get the Law pass'd that very Day. At the same time he commanded the Conful to depart the Affembly, that he might make no Disturbance in the Collection of the

Livy Dec. I. l. 2.

Appius despised his Order, and cried out to him that he must needs know that tho' a D. H. ibid. Tribune, he was no more than a private Man, l. 9. without any real Magistracy, and whose whole Power confifted in forming an Oppofition to fuch Decrees of the Senate as might be prejudicial to the Plebeians. Thereupon calling about him his Relations, his Friends and his Clients, who were very numerous, he prepared to oppose Force to Force. Lectorius having conferr'd tumultuously with his Collegues, caused Proclamation to be made by a Herald, that the College of Tribunes decreed that the Conful should be led to Prison: And immediately an Officer belonging to that Tribune had the Presumption to offer to seize upon the chief Magistrate of the Republic. But the Senators, the Patricians, and that multitude of Clients which attended Appius, placed him in the middle of 'em, and repulfed the Officer. Lectorius, transported with Anger, advanced himself to affift him, and called upon the People for their Aid. Multitude rises; the most mutinous joyn the Tribune; nothing is heard but confused Cries proceeding from mutual Animofity. From Reproaches they quickly come to Blows; and as in those Days it was unlawful to wear Swords in the City, each Party makes Arms of Benches, or Stones, or any thing they can lay Hands on. It is very likely this Commotion had not ended without the spilling of much Blood, had not Quintius got some Confulars and ancient Senators to convey Appius from this Tumult, while he laboured to appease the Tribunes. But Night coming on, more than any thing else, obliged the P 2

T

es

re

re 'd

ry

he

the

pius

the two Parties, equally irritated against each

other, to separate.

The Tumult began again next Morning. The People spirited up by their Tribunes, and especially by Lectorius who had been wounded the Night before, get Possession of the Capitol, fortify themselves there, and seem refolved to begin an open War. The Senate on their part affembles, as well to deliberate upon Ways to quiet the Sedition, as to reconcile the two Confuls; the first of which being the more moderate, was for conceding something in Favour of the People, whereas Appius protested, that he wou'd sooner die than consent to give up the least point to a seditious Rabble. This Disorder lasted several Days. Quintius, who was not disagreeable to the Multitude, accosts the Tribunes, sooths them, and intreats them to facrifice their private Resentments to the Public Good, and to restore the City to Peace and Concord. The Tribunes answer, that his Collegue was the Man he shou'd apply to, and that he alone, was the Cause of the Division that raged in the Republic. That they thought it was no unjust thing they proposed, in demanding that the Election of Tribunes shou'd be made only in an Asfembly by Tribes. That this excluded neither the Senators, nor the Patricians, nor the Knights, who all were inscribed in some of the Thirty Tribes, and consequently wou'd always have their weight in the Assemblies by Tribes as private Citizens. That the People defired only that they might not prefide in them, and that this Honour might be allowed their particular Magistrates. That whenever this unexceptionable Law was admitted, the City wou'd quickly be restored

restored to Peace; tho' they wou'd not however say, that they wou'd desist from prosecuting Appius afterwards, for having wounded

Lectorius, whose Person was Sacred.

Quintius replied with much Gentleness, that in so great a Disorder as had then happened. it was impossible to charge Appius with the Tribune's Wound sooner than any Body else; that he wou'd have them forget this particular Injury for the fake of the Public Peace, and make a Compliment of it to the Senate. From thence he took occasion to infinuate to them, that it was not unlikely the Senate. with their usual Goodness, might comply with the Law in favour of the People, if they referred it absolutely to their Decision; that this was perhaps the furest way to succeed: Whereas if the People pretended to carry it by Force, there would always be found a great number of Young Senators and Patricians that would make it a point of Honour to resist him.

The Tribunes, who knew Quintius's Prudence, were well fatisfied he wou'd never have made them such Advances without being beforehand affured of the Senate's Disposition: And all that was now to be done was by a feeming Deference to fave the Honour of that Body. The Tribunes, contented with having the effential part granted them, did not quarrel about the Form: They affured Quintius that the People wou'd stand to whatever he shou'd transact with the Senate on their part. The Tribunes took this course the more readily, because it did not at all bind their Successors, who might resume the Prosecution of the Law the next Year, if the Senate's Refolutions

folutions were not fuch as the People ex-

pected.

Quintius having left the Tribunes, convened the Senate, to whom he gave an Account of their present Inclination. He then asked the Opinion of the Confulars, beginning with P. Valerius Publicola. That Senator faid, that the Tribune's Wound not being the effect of any personal Quarrel between Appius and Le-Etorius, he thought the Resentment of it shou'd be buried in an Oblivion of the Tumult it felf that had occasioned it. But that as to the Main of the Question, which was whether they shou'd allow Assemblies to be held without a Senatusconsultum, and without Auspices, he shou'd guide himself for his particular by what shou'd be determined by plurality of Voices. It is probable, this Confular did not think fit to explain himself first upon so delicate a Point, for fear of drawing upon himself the Hatred of the People, to whom he was already but too odious for the Death of Cassius, whose Accuser he had been. The Affair was disputed with great warmth. But Quintius, who was naturally persuasive, managed the feveral Spirits he had to deal with fo artfully, that he at length brought the Senate to yield to the People this other part also of their Authority. Appius opposed it with all his might; he called both Gods and Men to witness, that the Republic was betrayed, and that they were submitting to a Law more detrimental to the lawful Authority of the Senate, than those which had been promulgated upon the Mons Sacer. But he cou'd not shake the Resolution of the ancient Senators: They very well knew, that

tho' the Consul depended only upon the Seeach particular Senator was in the nate, Power of the People, who fince the business of Coriolanus had created themselves a right of trying the Patricians. Thus either the Love of Peace, or Fear of the Tribunes Resentment, united most of the Voices in Quintius's Year of Opinion. The Law was published with the Rome 282. Consent of both Orders, and they now for D. H. 1.9. the first time elected Tribunes in an Assem-Livy Dec. bly convened by Tribes. The Patricians withdrew themselves from it, that they might not be mingled with the basest of the Rabble; they were led by Appius, who was yet more provoked with the Senate than with the People themselves. He said it was scandalous in the Senate to abandon him in an Enterprize which they themselves had engaged him inby raising him to a Dignity which he never courted. He employed it afterwards only to make the Plebeians feel that the Victory which their Tribunes had gained, had not in the least quelled his Courage.

The Equi and the Volsci during these Divisions, according to their old Custom, had made Inroads upon the Territories of the Republic. The Roman Legions were composed wholly of the Roman People, who were Citizens and Soldiers at the same time. The two Consuls divided them between them; Quintius marched against the Equi, and Appius commanded the Army appointed against the Volsci. That General seeing himself now out of Rome, and possessed of the absolute Authority of a Military Command, caused Discipline to be observed with a Severity, which the Soldiers looked upon not so much a necessary Regula-

rity,

rity, as a Revenge for things past. The Rigorousness with which he used his Power irritated the whole Army. Centurions and Soldiers, all murmured at the General's Orders. A fort of Conspiracy was formed, less against his Life than against his Glory: The Soldiers,

Liv. Dec. 1. 1. 2. Zonaras. Flor. l. 1. 2. 22. Val. Max.

l. 9. c. 3.

D. H. l. 9 to hinder him from conquering and fo receiving the Honours of Triumph, resolved by Agreement not to oppose the Enemies Enter-The Vosci having offered Battel, and prizes. Appius having drawn his Army out of their Camp to fight them, the Romans at the approach of the Enemy threw away their Arms, and fled shamefully, thinking they did not pay too dear for the affront they put upon their General, if it cost them only the loss of their own Honour.

> Appius in despair runs every way to rally and bring them on again to the Fight. intreats and threatens in vain; some get out of the way to avoid receiving his Commands; others without being in the least wounded shew him Bandages, which they had put on purpose about the found parts of their Body, and call out that they must be led back to the Camp to be drest: All rush into it without waiting for Orders fo to do. The Volsci take Advantage of this Confusion, and after having cut to Pieces those that fled in the Rear, they attack the Intrenchments. But then the Soldiers, fearing the Enemy might break into their Camp, face about upon the Intrenchments, make a brave Resistance, and drive back the Vosci, tho' without pursuing them, being satisfied with having shewn their General that they cou'd have conquered had they pleafed.

Appius,

Appius, yet more enraged at this fresh Insult, than at their Flight, was resolved next Day to affemble his Army, and place himself in his Tribunal, to make an Example of the Mutinous. But the Soldiers gave no heed to the Signal that called them to the Assembly. They loudly demanded of their Officers to be led out of the Enemy's Territories, where they must inevitably be defeated. Those Officers, finding there was neither Discipline nor Obedience left in the Army, advised the General not to hazard his Authority in a Contest with such mutinous Spirits. Appius, incensed beyond all Patience at this Revolt, broke up his Camp: But as he was in March, the Volsci, having received Intelligence of his Motions by some Deserter, with dreadful Cries fall upon his Rear. Terror flies thro' the whole Army, and reaches the most advanced Bodies; every one flings away his Arms; those that bore the Ensigns abandon them: It is not now as before, a pretended Rout. All disband, and make feveral ways; and they do not rally again till they are arrived upon the Lands of the Republic.

Appius having pitched his Camp in a Place that covered the Country, and where he cou'd not be constrained to fight against his Will, convenes the Assembly a second time. Being seated in his Tribunal, he upbraided the Soldiers, that stood round him, with their Cowardice, and their Treachery yet more criminal than their want of Courage. He asks one what he has done with his Arms; and those that bore the Ensigns, whether they had delivered them up to the Enemy. Giving full scope to his natural Severity, which was augmented by a just Resentment of their Desertion, he decimated

or put every Tenth Man to Death among the Soldiers, and cut off the Heads of the Centurions and other Officers that had left their Posts. As the time of the Comitia for the Election of Consuls for the next Year drew near, he led back to Rome the Wrecks of his Army, which entered it with the shame of Punishment in their Face, and a violent thirst of Vengeance in their Hearts.

Appius gave a further Provocation to the Multitude, and incurred their Hatred anew, by the Opposition he made to the Endeavours used by the Tribunes of that Year for the Agrarian Law. Those Magistrates of the People had no sooner attained the Tribuneship, but they studied to distinguish themselves by Proposals pleasing to the Multitude. Some invented new Laws; others resumed the Prosecution of such as had not yet been passed; and the Aim of all was only to share with the Senate and Patricians the Wealth, the Dignities, and the Magistracies of the Republic.

Year of Rome 283.

It was in the Consulate of L. Valerius and T. Æmilius, who succeeded in that Dignity to Quintius and Appius, that C. Sicinius, Tribune of the People, and Grand-Son of the same Sicinius Bellutus that was the chief Leader of the Sedition upon the Mons Sacer, revived, in conjunction with his Collegues, the old Dispute concerning the Partition of those Public Lands of which the Patricians and richest Inhabitants of Rame had got Possession

of Rome had got Possession.

D. H. l. 9: The business in a manner depended upon the Consuls, who by the Senatusconsultum made in the Consulate of Cassius and Virginius were empowered to nominate Commissioners to proceed to the Enquiry and Division of those Lands.

The

The Tribunes had the address to gain those two principal Magistrates of the Republic into their Interests. Emilius promised to back their Pretensions: This Consul took so extraordinary a step out of Revenge against the Senate, for having resused his Father the Honours of Triumph when he returned Victorious from a War against the Equi. Valerius, on his part, was not displeased at having found an occasion of making his Peace with the People, who cou'd not forgive him the Death of Cassius, whose Accuser he had made himself during his Quæ-

storship.

The Tribunes having made fure of the two Consuls, brought the Affair next before the They spoke with great Moderation, Senate. and befought that Body in the most submissive Terms, to condescend at length to do the People Justice, and that the Consuls would no longer delay naming the Decemvirs that were to regulate the Partition of the Lands. The two Confuls gave to understand by their Silence that they did not oppose it. Valerius, as first Conful, then asked the Opinion of the rest of the Senate, beginning with Æmilius the Father of his Collegue. That antient Senator de- D. H. ibid. clared in favour of the People: He faid he thought nothing cou'd be more unjust than to fee private Persons the only Gainers by the Spoils of the Enemy, while the rest of the Citizens laboured under Indigence and Mifery. That the poor Plebeians dreaded the thoughts of having Children, to whom they cou'd leave nothing but their own Wretchedness for an Inheritance; that instead of cultivating each the Portion of Land that belong'd to him, they were obliged to work for Subfiftance like Slaves

in the Estates of the Patricians; and that this servile way of Life was not very proper to form the Courage of a Roman. "Thus, says that old Man, I vote that our Consuls name the December to proceed to the Division of these Lands, which being publick and common, ought to be for the equal Benefit of All.

Appius opposed this Advice with as much Haughtiness as if he had been a third Conful, or indeed as if he had been invested with a perpetual Dictatorship. He answered Æmilius, that the People cou'd lay the blame of their Mifery upon nothing but their own Intemperance; that they had received their Portions of Land at the very Foundation of Rome; that oftener than once the Confuls had generously given among them the Booty won upon the Dominions of the Enemies, and that upon a thorough Enquiry it wou'd appear, that those who had received the greatest share of those Foreign Spoils were the poorest. That so long as those Plebeians wallowed as they did in Debauchery and Laziness, it was not in the Power of the Republic to enrich them; that above fifteen Consulates were now past since the Senatusconsultum had been granted for the Partition of the Lands, and in all that time not one of the preceding Magistrates had ever had a thought of putting it in Execution, well knowing that the Senate's only Design in such a Decree was to appeale the Sedition, in order to give the People more time to confider the Injustice and indeed Impossibility of their Demands; and that over and above all this, those former Confuls were not to learn, that the Se-

D. H. ibid natusconsultum was abolished by Prescription;
1. 9. and that they had more Prudence than to charge
them-

themselves with so important a Commission, in virtue of an Authority that was expired. That neither cou'd he believe there was the least Occasion to apprehend such an Enterprize from the Consuls then in Post, who had more Wisdom and Caution than to undertake such an Affair without the Concurrence and Authority of the Senate; "But to let you see, added Ap-"pius, that in rejecting an obsolete Act, I do not mean to defend Usurpers, I declare it as my Advice, that without making any far-"ther mention of the Division of the Lands, we re-unite to the public Domain the Lands of all such as cannot justify their Acquisition

" and Boundaries by legal Titles.

Notwithstanding the Equitableness of this Proposal, neither the Grandees nor the People cou'd relish an Expedient that wou'd impoverish the Rich, without any Benefit to the Poor. But however, as it utterly rejected the Partition of the Lands, and that the Enquiry proposed against the unjust Possessor seemed a long work, most of the Senators gave great Praises to Appius. The Tribunes, on the contrary, enraged at finding in the single Person of this Consular the Hatred and Opposition of all the Patricians, resolved to destroy him, and for that purpose cited him before the People, as a declared Enemy of the public Liberty.

This was the ordinary Crime alledged against those that were indeed guilty of none, and were nevertheless to be destroyed. The Senate interested themselves in this Affair as if it had been their own, looking upon Appius as the intrepid Desender of their Prerogative. Most of them were for soliciting the Multitude in his behalf, but he opposed it with his usual Firm-

ness

ness and Courage. He changed neither his Habit nor his Style: And on the Day of the Afsembly he appeared in the midst of his Accufers with the same Dignity as if he had been their Judge. The Tribunes reproached him with the Severity of his Consulate, the Inhumanity with which he had put to Death a greater number of Soldiers by the hand of the Executioner, than the very Enemies had slain in the heat of the Battel. To make that Consular still more odious, the rigorous Conduct of his Father was called to mind, as a Crime in the Son: But he answered these several Articles with so much Strength, that the People aftonished and confused durst not condemn him. The Tribunes, fearing he wou'd be acquitted, adjourned the Sentence to another Affembly, pretending the Day was so far spent that they shou'd not have time to collect the Suffrages.

D. H. I. 9. During these delays, Appius, plainly foreseeing he shou'd at length be facrificed to the implacable Hatred of those Magistrates, voluntarily put an end to his own Life. His Son caused his Body to be brought into the Forum; and according to Custom presented himself to make his Funeral Oration, but the Tribunes, who were resolved to persecute his very Memory, offered to oppose it, alledging that his Father was to be reckoned among Criminals, not having been acquitted of his Accusation before his Death. But the People, more generous, removed their Opposition, and heard with pleasure the Praises of an Enemy whom they cou'd never help esteeming, and hated no longer.

The Tribunes afterwards resumed the business of the Agrarian Law, which Appius's Profecution had only suspended. The Death of that

that great Man one wou'd think shou'd have deterred all others from opposing the Publication of the Law; but as the Fortune of most of the Senators depended upon it, and several rich Plebeians had also acquired different Parcels of those Public Lands, the Party of the Patricians gathered Strength; that of the People grew weaker and weaker; this cooled the Zeal of the Tribunes; and the Proprietors still continued in Possession of these Lands, notwithflanding the Pretenfions and Complaints of the common People. The Romans, the fol- Year of lowing Year, under the Consulate of Aulus Vir- 284. ginius and T. Numicius, were employed in Wars or rather Inroads and Incursions upon the Æqui, the Volsci and the Sabines; but at the conclusion of the Campaign the old Divisions were renewed.

The Multitude, who looked upon themselves to be over-powered by the Credit of the Great. absented themselves from all the Assemblies that were held by Centuries, and where the Confuls and Senate prefided. It feemed as if the Plebeians intended to separate themselves once more from the Body of the Republic: None of them appeared at the Election of Confuls for the next Year; and, which was never known before, T. Quintius and Q. Servilius were raised Year of to that Dignity by the sole Voices of the Se-Rome nate, the Patricians and their Clients, who not-285. withstanding all these Divisions constantly adhered to the Party of their Patrons.

These two Consuls, to prevent the Breach from growing wider, busied the People all that Year in various Wars against the Æqui and Volsci. T. Quintius took from these latter the City of Antium and its whole Territory. The

Plunder

Plunder and Booty somewhat appealed the Minds of the Multitude, and the Soldier at his return to Rome knew not how to complain of Generals under whom he had acquired both Wealth

and Glory.

Year of Rome 286.

But their Complaints and Diffentions began afresh in the Consulate of Tib. Æmilius and D. Fabius. We have already heard that Æmilius in his first Consulate had declared for the Partition of the Lands: the Tribunes and Promoters of the Agrarian Law assumed new hopes under his fecond Confulate: The Affair was debated in the Senate: Æmilius had not changed his Mind. That Conful, ever favourable to the People, averred, that it was impossible to maintain Peace and Union among the Citizens of a free State, unless the Laws kept some proportion between the Condition of the Poor and that of the Rich, and made an equal Division among them of the Lands conquered from the Enemy. But this Partition, so advantageous to the Plebeians, laboured under great difficulties. It was necessary, in order to it, to distinguish between the original Patrimony of every private Man, and what he had added to it from the Public Lands. This distinction must even extend between such Parcels as the Patricians had really purchased of the public Domain, and such as they had at first only taken as Farms in their own or borrowed Names, and afterwards mingled and confounded together with part of the Commons, in their rightful Patrimony. A long Prescription concealed from the most strict Enquiry the Knowledge of these several Usurpations. The Patricians had afterwards shared out these Lands among their Children for their Patrimony, and those

were passed thro' various Families by Succession or Purchase. Nay, some rich Plebeians possessed part of them, which they had honestly bought; so that there seemed to be no way to touch upon this Affair without occasioning a general Confusion in the Republic.

Amilius, without any regard to Inconveniences so well worth consideration, obstinately infifted upon the Publication of the Law. He was very defirous of making it his Merit with the People, that it was pass'd during his Confulate; and he was feconded by some Ancient Senators, who looked upon the mediocrity of the Fortune of private Persons and Equality of Wealth to be the strongest Supports of the Public Liberty. But the Majority, and especially those that were in Possession of those Public Lands, complained that Æmilius was for being liberal to them with the Wealth of the Nobility. The Dispute ran even into Invectives and Abuses; many reproached him that he acted not so much like a Consul as a seditious Tribune: And, which is most wonderful, even Senators were feen to be wanting of Respect to the Head of the Senate, and the Sovereign Magistrate of the Republic: Fabius, his Collegue, thought of an Expedient to prevent the consequences of these Divisions, which displeased neither Party.

Most of the Inhabitants of the City of An-Liv.Dec.s. tium were perished in the last War. Fabius, 1. 8. to mollify the Roman People, whose Misery and the seditious Speeches of their Tribunes had now made Furious, proposed to send part of the poorest Citizens of Rome by way of Colony to Antium, and to divide among

them

them fome adjoining. Lands which had been taken from the Volsci. This Advice was at first received with great Applause by the meaner fort of People, who are always greedy of Novelties. T. Quintius, A. Virginius, and P. Furius were immediately named, to make the Establishment of this Colony. But when the Plebeians were to give their Names to those Triumvirs, few of them appeared: Rome had too many Charms to detain its Inhabitants; no body cared for leaving it. The Games, the Spectacles, the Public Assemblies, the hurry of Business, the share the People had in the Government, every thing contributed to tie the Citizens to their old Abode, let their Poverty be ever fo great. A Colony was looked upon to be no better than an honourable kind of Banishment; and the most wretched Plebeians rather chose to live in Rome in Indigence, and in expectation of the uncertain Division of the Public Lands, which they had been so long flattered with hopes of, than to be actually in Possession of a handsome Subsistence in a rich Colony; fo that the Triumvirs, to make up the Number appointed for the Colony,

D. H. l. 9 were forced to admit of Strangers and Stragglers that offered themselves to gain a Habitation in it. The only Advantage they drew from this Settlement, was, that those among the People who had refused to go, cou'd not for shame meddle any more in the Affair of the Parti-

tion of the Lands.

Cros. l.21. A dreadful Pestilence laid both the City and c. 12. Country desolate about this time. An infinite Rome290. Number of People, several Senators, and the two Consuls themselves, P. Servilius and L. Æbutius, died of it. The Volsci and Æqui, imagining

gining they might get great Advantages over the Romans, if they attacked them in this rear of weak Condition, renewed the War under the Romezot. Confulate of L. Lucretius Tricipitinus and T. Veturius Geminus. These two Magistrates were no sooner raised to that Dignity, but they prepared to repell the Incursions of the Enemies. But as they cou'd not raise any great Forces in a City where the Plague had just made such terrible Devastation, they called to their Aid the Latins and Hernici, Allies of the Roman Nation. They put themselves at their Head, and fought so bravely, that the Enemy was descated in three several Battels.

End of the Third Book. 24 OC 62





THE

HISTORY

OF THE

REVOLUTIONS

That happened in the Government

OF THE

ROMAN REPUBLIC.

BOOK IV.

The Tribune C. Terentillus Arsa makes a Proposal for drawing up and settling, with the People's Consent, a Body of Laws to serve as a Rule in the Administration of Justice- Ceso, for opposing it, is fere'd to sty into Tuscany to avoid the Judgment of the People. The Tribunes form a Design to ruin such of the Senators and Patricians as were obnoxious to them. The Consul Claudius disappoints them. Appius Herdonius seizes the Capitol. He is attack'd

by the Romans, and oblig'd to kill himself. Q. Cincinnatus is fetch'd from the Plough to command the Armies in Quality of Consul. He refuses to be Consul a second time, and returns to his Plough. He is recall'd, to go in Quality of Dictator, and deliver one of the Consuls who was (but up by the Enemy, with his whole Ar-He delivers the Consul and his Soldiers, beats the Enemy, and returns Triumphant into Q. Ceso his Son is recalled from Ba-Rome. nishment. The Senate grants the People a Power to chuse ten Tribunes instead of five, provided they drop the Project of the Terentillian Law. Mount Aventine yielded up to the People by a Senatusconsultum. The Consuls, T. Romilius and C. Veturius, obtain a compleat Victory over the Enemy. The People, by the Perswasion of Siccius, refuse them the Honour of a Triumph, and even condemn them in a Fine, because they opposed the Publication of the Agrarian Law.



HILE the two Consuls were in the Field, a certain Tribune of the People nam'd C. Terentillus Arsa, undertook to signalize his Accession to the Tribunate by advancing new Proposals. This Man having observed that

the Senate and Consuls obstructed from time to time, by their Authority, the Publication of most of the Laws propos'd by his Collegues, busy'd his Thoughts how to weaken and reduce a Power that was a perpetual Object of Envy and Emulation to the Tribunes. He therefore demanded in full Assembly, that Bounds

Q3 shou'd

shou'd be set to the absolute Authority of the Consuls; and that with the People's consent, there shou'd be an Establishment of Laws six'd and determin'd for the Senate to be govern'd by in the Judgments they shou'd pass between Man

and Man.

In order to judge of the Importance of this second Proposal, it may not be amis to observe here, that Rome as yet had no Laws, nor any constant Form of administring Justice. fole Will of her late Kings was instead of a Law all the time they reigned. As the Confuls and Senate succeeded to the Regal Power, they likewise succeeded to the same supreme Right of distributing Justice, and regulated their Sentences either by the Principles of Natural Equity, or ancient Usages; or else by the first Laws of Romulus and his Successors, some flight Footsteps whereof were still to be found in the facred Books which were lodg'd with the Patricians alone. The People knew but little of the matter: most of them being employ'd abroad in the Wars, or else settled in the Country, rarely came to Town but on Market Days about their domestic Concerns, or to be present at the Comitia and other public Assemblies, which were holden only on those They referr'd all their Differences to the Judgment of the Consuls, the only Persons who at that time had any tincture of Letters; but who always made a mystery to the People of those first Elements of their Juris-Prudence.

The Death of a great number of Patricians, who had been swept away by the Plague, and the absence of the two Consuls who were actually at the Head of the Armies, seem'd to be a favoura-

favourable conjuncture for Terentillus to make an Innovation in the Government. He reprefented to the People that Patrician Magistrates were absolute Masters of each Man's Fortune; that whenever any Contest arose between a Patrician and a Plebeian, the latter was sure to come by the worst; that besides losing his Cause, he had not so much as the Consolation of knowing whether he had Right or Wrong done him; and he concluded with moving for an immediate Establishment of Laws, known by every Body, to serve for a Rule to the Magistrates in their Sentences, and to the Litigants for Proofs

of the Justice or Injustice of their Cause.

He afterwards fell to railing against the Confuls: That their Authority was insupportable in a free City; that the ancient Kings of Rome enjoy'd not a greater share of Power; that, like those Princes, the Consuls had their Robes border'd with Purple, their Curule or Ivory Chair; as also Guards and Lictors to attend them. That at Home their Sentence was without Appeal; Abroad and in time of War they commanded the Armies, and always made War, and not feldom Peace, without fo much as confulting the Senate, to whom indeed for form fake they wou'd afterwards give an account of their Administration. That thus they had the whole Authority of Kings, and only wanted the Name. But that to prevent their Domination from degenerating at length into a perpetual Tyranny, he demanded that a Choice shou'd be made of five of the best Men of the Republic, who should be authoriz'd to restrain within due bounds a Power so excessive; so that the Confuls, for the future, might have no other Authority over their Fellow-Citizens, but what Q 4

those very Citizens shou'd think fit to entrust them with.

The Senators were all surpris'd and startled at fuch bold Proposals: They then found, tho' too late, the truth of what the two Appius's had so many times foretold 'em, that the People, after experiencing the Weakness of the Scnate by fo many Laws extorted from them, wou'd at length openly attack their Authority thro' the fides of the Confuls who were the chief Support of it. Luckily for that Body, Q. Fabius in the absence of the Confuls was at that time Governor of Rome. He was of Consular Dignity, and withal a wife Man, a notable Manager, and one who without lessening himself, cou'd fall in with the humour of the People, to whom he was well nigh as acceptable as if he had been a Tribune.

This able Magistrate finding the Consular Dignity in danger of being ruin'd by that enterprizing Tribune, dispatcht away different Messengers privately to the two Consuls, with notice of what had offer'd, and to conjure them to hasten back to Rome with all expedition. For gaining of time, he represented sometimes to the People, and fometimes to the other Tribunes, that till then the Romans in judicial matters had contented themselves with Custom of going according to natural Right, and the sole Principles of Reason and good That multiplicity of Laws ferv'd only Senfe. to cloud the Truth of things; adding, that he forefaw, with grief, all the Misfortune that wou'd befall the Republic from this Judiciary Form endeavour'd at by Terentillus. He afterwards infinuated with much smoothness, that

even

Tit. Liv. 1.3. D. H.l. 10.

even tho' fuch Changes might be thought necessary, it was neither Honourable nor Just in the Citizens at home, to proceed to a Decision in the Absence of the two Consuls, and of fuch part of the People who compos'd their Armies. That when they return'd home they might justly resent the hurrying an Affair of such consequence, which as it affected each particular Man, ought not to have been determin'd but in a general Assembly of the whole Roman People. That the Confuls, as Chiefs of the Republic, wou'd protest against whatever shou'd be decreed without their Privity; whereas fo foon as ever those two Supreme Magistrates appear'd in the Senate, and the whole People were got together, fuch meafures might be concerted, as shou'd be most fuitable to the Good of the State, and the Welfare of the Republic. Fabius added to these Arguments earnest Entreaties, which gave him the more Authority as he feem'd less to exact it.

The greater part of the Tribunes, overcome by the Solidity of his Reasons, infifted no longer on the first demand of Terentillus concerning the Limitation of the Confuls Power. Or perhaps the true Cause why they wav'd the design of lessening the Consular Authority, was their hopes of rifing some time or other to that Post themselves. But they persisted in demanding a Choice to be made from among the Senators and Plebeians of proper Persons, to compose and form a Body of Laws, for determining Suits among the Citizens. However upon the instances of Fabius they confented to suspend the Prosecution of that Affair, and the Confuls at their return found the City

City quiet; but this Tranquility continued not long. The Hernici, who at that time were in Alliance with the Roman People, gave Intelligence that the Equi and Volsci were secretly arming, and that the new Colony of Antium was enter'd into that Confederacy. We have before related, that for want of a fufficient Number of Roman Citizens willing to settle in that Colony, it was fill'd with People pickt up from different parts, Latins, Hernici, and Tuscans; some Volscians too had stol'n in among 'em. As these Adventurers out-number'd the Romans, they had a Majority in the Council. They carry'd on a private Correspondence with the Enemies of Rome; and tho' they had not as yet declar'd openly against the Republic, their Fidelity began to be suspected.

Mean while the Senate, to be provided against any Surprise, order'd the two Consuls forthwith to raise Forces: This raising of Forces was call'd among the Romans, making a choice, because the Citizens being all Soldiers, the Consuls in case of a War had a Power to chuse such as they thought proper for the Service. These two Magistrates having caused their Tribunal to be Erected in the Forum, cited fuch as they had pitcht upon for the War. But the Tribunes withstood them, and reviv'd the Proposals of Terentillus for the Compiling a Body of Laws; and Virginius, the most cholerick of the Tribunes, bawl'd out in the Forum, that this pretended War was nothing but a Trick of the Senate to draw the People out of Rome, and so hinder 'em from giving their Votes in an Affair that so nearly

concern'd every Individual.

The

The Contest ran high, and gave Birth to fresh Commotions. There was no longer seen either Obedience in the People, or Authority in the Consuls. Every thing was carry'd by meer Violence: And those Magistrates having caused to be arrested a certain Plebeian who refus'd to go to the War, the Tribunes rescued him out of the Lictor's Hands, and set him at Liberty. The Confuls fearing to expose their Characters to greater Indignities, quitted the Forum and went their ways home, where they remained for some Days without once appearing at those tumultuous Assemblies wherein fuch had most Authority as cou'd make most Noise, especially after it was known that the Intelligence of the Hernici was without Grounds, and no fuch thing as an Enemy ftirring. The People's Ears were now din'd with the absolute necessity of obliging the Confuls to regulate their Judgments by a Codex of Laws to be publisht and made Notorious to every Man. But the Senate, under pretence of preserving their ancient Usages, cou'd not be brought to part with that Custom of giving Judgment arbitrarily.

This Year there were violent Earthquakes, Year of and fiery Exhalations were seen in the Air. Romezoz. These Phenomena purely natural, but which however were by the Vulgar lookt upon as Forerunners of new Calamities, superfeded this Affair for some time. Every one was full of finister Presages, which Superstition and Fear helpt to multiply. Some had feen Apparitions shifting each Moment into a Thousand · Forms; others had heard supernatural Voices in the Night time. There are Eminent Historians who have not demurr'd to report upon

the

the veracity of these Visionaries, that it rain'd raw Flesh, and that while it was falling down piecemeal like Snow, Birds of Prey caught it in the Air with their Talons. Recourse was presently had to the Oracles; the Books of the Sybills were consulted. The Depositaries of those facred Books, all Patricians, gave out that Rome was threatned with a Siege, by some formidable Power, that wou'd take advantage of its Intestine Divisions. This Prediction feem'd to be Copy'd after what had lately happened in the Case of Coriolanus's Enterprise. Accordingly the Tribunes strongly fuspected the Priests had model'd their Answer by the Views and Interests of the Senate. But on the contrary, the Populace who thought what had been, might be, and who dreaded to see a second Coriolanus at the Gates of Rome, oblig'd their Tribunes to have a Conference with the Senate, in order to contrive some way or other to put an end to their Contentions. Several Meetings were had, but all to no purpose. Neither of the Parties wou'd bate any thing of its Pretensions. At length, Time having dispell'd that Terror which the Priests had endeavour'd to infuse into the People, the Tribunes affembled a new, and without confulting the Senate, presented to the Multitude a Draught of a new Law, importing, that the People shou'd instantly nominate five Consulars to be chosen among the wisest and most intelligent of the Senate. That the faid Commissioners shou'd be empower'd to collect together, and put into Form, a Body of Civil Laws, as well in respect to publick Affairs, as private Differences that might arise between Man and Man. That they shou'd make

make their Report in an Assembly of the People, and post it up in the most public Places, to the end that each individual Citizen might be apprized of the same, and enabled to give his Opinion thereof. The Tribunes having open'd this Project, declar'd, they wou'd defer the Publication of it to the third Market Day, with intent that such as shou'd happen to be of contrary Sentiments, might freely lay before the People the Reasons of their Opposition.

Many of the Senators began to exclaim against this new Proposal. It occasion'd a world of Disputes, without coming to any issue. length the Tribunes resolv'd to carry their Point per force. They accordingly conven'd another Affembly, wherein the whole Senate appear'd. The Heads of that Body urg'd to the People, in spight of the Tribunes, that it was a thing unheard of, that without a Senatusconfultum, without taking the Auspices, and without confulting either the Gods or the prime Men of the Republic, a part of the Citizens, even the most inconsiderable part, shou'd pretend to make Laws for all the Orders of the State. They inculcated their Reasons into such of the Plebeians as seem'd to be most rational. On the contrary, the Dregs of the Populace, prejudic'd by their Tribunes, with great noise demanded the Ballot; but the youngest of the Senators, and the Patricians, quash'd the whole Project. Quintius Ceso, Son of a Consular, was rear of at the Head of 'em; he rushes into the Crowd, Rome he knocks down or disperses all that were in his 292. way; and by means of this Uproar, which he rais'd on purpose, he breaks off the Assembly, in ipite

spite of all that the Tribunes could do to keep

them together.

The Senators and Patricians bestow'd on Ceso large Encomiums, which only ferv'd to heighten his Presumption and his Rancour towards the Populace. He was a young Man, of an agreeable Figure, well shap'd, and had an extraordinary Strength of Body; by Nature proud, daring, and intrepid: He knew not what it was to fear, and had already fignaliz'd himself by an uncommon Bravery in Battel. As he was no less an Orator than Soldier, and was always the forwardest to answer the seditious Harangues of the Tribunes, those Magistrates, enrag'd to find in one fingle Man the Vigor of all the Patricians, conspir'd his Ruin. After they had agreed among themselves upon Articles of Impeachment, A. Virginius caus'd him to be summon'd before the Affembly of the People.

So long as Ceso was in the warmth of a Debate, supported by the Senate, who flattered his Vanity with their Applauses, he made show of great Resolution and Firmness. But his Courage fail'd him at sight of the Apparitor; and the Example of Coriolanus made a strong Impression in his Mind. He is now timorous, he is frighted, he repents of what is past, dreads what is to come, and, like a base Coward, almost resolves to desert his Party. He put on mourning Habit, and with a Countenance sull of Sorrow and Humility, he went about beg-

ging the favour of the meanest Plebeian.

The Day that his Affair was to come on, he had not the Resolution so much as to shew his Face to the People. His Father, accompanied by his Relations and Friends, was sain to appear for him. A. Virginius open'd his Accusation

tion with Reflections upon Ceso's imperious Temper, his want of Respect for the Assemblies of the People, and the Outrages he had committed upon private Persons. "And what will become of our Liberty, cry'd Virginius, when the Patricians shall have advanc'd to "the Consulate this young ambitious Man, " who now in his private Capacity already " causes just Alarms to his Country, by his violent and audacious Deeds? He then produc'd all the Plebeians who had been injur'd by Ceso, and who demanded Justice. His Relations and Friends, instead of going about to clear him of those pretended Crimes, only answered the Tribune's Invectives with praising the Accused. Some recounted all the Battels wherein he had diftinguish'd himself; others nam'd the several Citizens whose Lives he had preserved in those Battels; at the same time were brought into the Forum and display'd the various Tokens of Honour with which the Generals had rewarded his Valour. T. Quintius Capitolinus, who had been thrice Conful, faid he had ferv'd abroad under him; that he had often feen him in fingle Combat vanquish the bravest of the Enemy; and that he always look'd on him as the prime Soldier of the Army. Lucretius, who had been Conful the preceding Year, added, that it was for the Interest of the Republic to preserve so compleat a Citizen; and that Age, by increafing his Wisdom, wou'd every Day take off from that impetuous Character which render'd him odious to the Multitude.

L. Quintius Cincinnatus, his Father, a Man Liv. 1. 3. the most esteem'd of any of his Age for his Ca-c. 12. pacity in governing the State, and commanding the Armies, only begg'd the People to grant

a Son to a Father that had never wrong'd any Citizen. The Respect and Veneration that was had for that illustrious old Man work'd upon the Multitude, and the People seemed dispos'd to pardon Ceso. But Virginius, who was bent upon his Ruin, answer'd Cincinnatus, that his Son was the more guilty, in as much as he neglected to improve by the Example of such a Father. That he nourish'd in his House the Tyrant of his Country, and that the bright Pattern of his Ancestors shou'd have taught him to prize the public Liberty above his own Children.

"After all, said that Tribune, turning to the People, that it may not be thought I have any sinister Views, I freely consent, if you will, to wave the injurious Speeches Ceso has made in our Assemblies against the People; as also the Violences he has exercised upon better Men than himself. But I beg that my Colleague, M. Volscius, be heard in what he has to offer by way of private Complaint against him; and I hope the People will not leave unavenged one of their own Magistrates that has been so great a Sufferer by him.

the Part that had been before concerted between them, "I cou'd have wish'd, said he, directing his Speech to the People, it had been in my Power sooner to have brought my Complaints for the Death of a most dear Brother whom Ceso kill'd in my Arms. But the ordinary Violences of the same Ceso, together with the Interest and Credit of his Family, made me but too sensible what I had

" my self to fear from such a Prosecution. If

"I come too late to be his Accuser, you can-" not but give the hearing at least to the fad "Testimony I bear of his Cruelty and Tyran-" ny. It was, continu'd that Hypocrite, un-" der the Consulate of L. Ebutius and P. Servi-" lius, returning home one Evening, my Bro-"ther and I, from a Friend's House where we " had supp'd, we met hard by the public Stews " Cefo, full of Wine, and accompany'd, according to his Custom, with several young " Patricians insolent as himself, and who, be-" like, had been making a Debauch together " in those Houses of Prostitution. They at " first attack'd us with abusive Language, " which I indeed was for taking no notice of. "But my Brother, less patient than my felf, " answering them as a Man that is Free and of " a Spirit wou'd do, Ceso instantly fell upon " him, and being much the stronger Man, he 66 fo bruis'd him with his Fifts and his Feet, "that he expir'd upon the spot, notwithstand-"ing my Prayers and Intreaties, which were the only Weapons I had. I cou'd not carry " my Complaints to the Confuls, they dying "the same Year of the Plague. L. Lucretius and T. Veturius, their Successors, were long "time in the Field; till they return'd I could of not think of forming my Action. But Cefo " hearing of my Defign, came upon me one "Night unawares in a by-place, and striking " me down, repeated his Blows fo, that to a-" void my Brother's Fate, I was forc'd to pro-" mise him never to mention what had befal'n either of us.

The People were so exasperated at this Story, that, without examining into the truth of the Fact, they were going immediately to condemn

demn Ceso to dye; but A. Virginius, who was the Manager of this whole Villany, thought fit to cloath it with the appearance of Justice; and to destroy the Accused according to the ordinary Forms. He requir'd that fince Volscius had not his Witnesses at hand, Ceso shou'd be fecur'd and imprison'd till such time as his Crime cou'd be prov'd. T. Quintius his Kinsman represented, that it was a thing unheard of in a Republick, that upon a bare Charge, a Citizen that was perhaps innocent, shou'd be immediately arrested and carried to Jail; and that this new Method of Procedure wou'd strike at the public Liberty. But the Tribune maintain'd, that such a Precaution was necessary in order to prevent so great an Offender from escaping the Justice of the People. The Question was debated with much Intemperance of Speech on both fides. In the end, 'twas concluded, that the Party accused shou'd remain in Liberty, but that withal, his Father and nine other Patricians shou'd be bound for his forth coming on the Day he was to be try'd, or else pay such Fine as shou'd be agreed upon between the Tribunes and Senate. Cefo, tho' innocent, durst not trust himself to the Judgment of the People, but departing Rome that very Night, went and took shelter in Tuscany. The Tribunes hearing of his Flight, settled the Fine with the Senate, and exacted it with so much Rigour and Severity, that Quintius, after having fold best part of his Estate, was forc'd to banish himself to a poor Hovel on t'other side the Tyber: And that illustrious Consular was oblig'd with his own Hands to cultivate five or fix Acres of Land, which were all he then had

to live upon, and which have fince gone by

his Name, the Quintian Meadows.

Cefo being now in Exile, the two Tribunes D. H. l. 10: thought the Senate must truckle to them, and flattered themselves with hopes of seeing the Law forthwith establish'd; but as it was an Affair that concern'd almost all the Great, the Nobility united themselves more closely together after the Disgrace of the Son of Quintius: And no fooner was the Terentillian Project mentioned, but there fprung up as it were a thoufand Cefo's, all opposing it with the same Intrepidity. The time being come for chusing new Confuls, the Senate and Patricians in conjunction, procur'd that Dignity to fall on C. Claudius, Brother of Appius that dy'd; and this they did because he was stanch in the Interest of his Uncle, without partaking any thing of his rugged Temper. They affign'd him for Colleague P. Valerius, who having once before been Conful, was therefore nam'd first Consul in this Election.

The Tribunes plainly faw by this Combinati- Year of on of the whole Nobility, that even tho' they Rome 293. shou'd every Year destroy one or other of the Consulars by different Accusations, they wou'd never get the better of a Body wherein there was no less Harmony than Power. Therefore without amusing themselves in prosecuting judicially such of the Patricians as signaliz'd themselves by opposing the Law, they secretly form'd the execrable defign of destroying at one stroke the better part of the Senate, and involving in their Ruin all fuch Patricians who were obnoxious to them on account either of their Wealth or Interest. In order to effect so detestable a Project, their Emissaries were sent a-R 2 bout

t

y

e

0

e

bout to whifper among the Rabble, as if some great Design was secretly hatching against their Liberty. Such slying Reports passing from Mouth to Mouth, were every time swell'd with some additional Circumstance more and more dreadful, and which in the end fill'd the whole City with Inquietude, Trouble and Distrust.

The Tribunes seeing the People's Minds prejudic'd, and in such a ferment as was proper to receive any impression, contriv'd a Letter to be D.H.l. 10. deliver'd to themselves in public. While they were fitting in their Tribunal, a Stranger comes, and in fight of all the People presents them a Letter, and was gone again in an instant, and vanish'd among the Crowd. The Tribunes lay their Heads together, and read it to themselves: and tho' they knew well enough beforehand every word it contain'd, yet did they affect to be aftonish'd, and put on an Air of Surprize, the better to stir up the Curiosity of the People, and make them more uneasy. Then rising from their Seats, and having caus'd filence to be proclaim'd by the Herald, Virginius addressing himself to the Assembly, "The Roman Peo-" ple, fays he with Looks full of Consternation, is threaten'd with the most dreadful Ca-" lamity that can possibly befall them: And if " the Gods, who are Protectors of Innocence, " had not discover'd the wicked Designs of our " Enemies, we had been all loft. He added, that he must first make the Consuls acquainted with the thing, and afterwards he wou'd give them an account of what shou'd be resolved on

> While these Magistrates were gone to wait on the Consuls, their Emissaries, who had spread

by the Senate.

them-

themselves up and down among the Assembly, put about various Reports, all tending to make the Patricians more odious to the Multitude. Some faid in general, that for some time past there had been but too much reason to suspect fome dangerous Plot was contriving against the Peoples Liberty; others, as if they knew more of the matter, affirm'd that the Æqui and Volsci, in Conjunction with the Patricians, were to put Ceso at their Head, like another Coriolanus; and that with their Affistance he was to return again to Rome to revenge himself on his Enemics, abolish the Tribuneship, and restore the Government to its ancient Form, and that afterwards the Towns and Lands which had been taken from the Æqui and Volsci, were to be given 'em again as a Reward for their Services: Some further affirm'd, that Ceso was not gone out of Rome: That they had been told he was conceal'd by one of the Confuls; that his Purpose was to affaffinate the Tribunes some Night in their Beds. That all the young Patricians were concerned in this Plot; and that the Letter just now deliver'd into the Hands of the Tribunes, doubtless contain'd Advice and Proofs of it. In short, these Creatures of the Tribunes made it their business to talk dismally about this mysterious Letter, with intent to keep up the People's Prejudice, and increase the Hatred they bore the Senate and Patricians.

The Tribunes being arriv'd at the Senate, Virginius, who was Spokesman, addressing himself to the Consuls and Senators, "For a considerable time, Conscript Fathers, said he, there have been strange Rumours in this City of a Plot upon the Liberty of the People.

But as they were without Vouchers, we R 3 "look'd

" look'd upon them as empty Stories begot by "Fear and Idleness. Since that time, we have " receiv'd Intimations that are somewhat coherent and cloath'd with better Circumstances; but as these likewise were without Voucher, or any Author's Name, we did not think " them deserving enough of your Notice, and " therefore forbore to report them to you: At " the same time, that nothing might be left " undone in an Affair of this consequence, we " caus'd inquisition to be made privately; whereby we came at sufficient tokens of a Plot, " tho' we cou'd not discover the Object thereof, nor who were at the Head of it, or o-" therwise ingag'd in it. At length (not above " two Hours ago) we are let into this terrible " Mystery; a Letter we just now receiv'd, as " we were fitting in our Tribunal, informs us " that there is a Conspiracy, and sets forth the " Design of the Conspirators. The first Indicia or Tokens which as I told ye we had come at, concur exactly with the Intelli-" gence contain'd in this Letter. In so emi-" nent a Danger, wherein to lose time in deli-" berating how to punish this Crime, wou'd " be almost as bad as the Crime it self, we " hastened, as in Duty bound, to come and " give you information of it, and to lay be-" fore you such things as will make your Ears " tingle to hear.

"Be it known to you, Conscript Fathers, we have received a Letter which advises us of Persons of the highest Rank, Senators and

"Knights, too many to be now particularly nam'd, that have refolv'd absolutely to abo-

" lish the Tribunate, and all the Rights and "Privileges of the Bearle. That to seemed

"Privileges of the People. That to compass fuch

"fuch detestable Designs, they have agreed that Ceso Quintius, at the Head of a Body of Equi and Volsci, shall clandestinely and by Night come to such a Gate of the City, which his Accomplices are to keep open for him; that he shall be introduced without Noise into the City; and that the principal Conspirators, divided into different Parties, and advantaged by the darkness, shall go and fall upon the Tribunes unawares in their Houses, and that at the very same time all our Throats were to be cut, together with the principal of the People, and such as in the Assemblies were wont to express most Zeal for the desence of Liberty.

"We conjure you, Conscript Fathers, not " to give us up to the Rage of these Blood-" hounds. In order to prevent their evil De-" figns, we hope you will not refuse us a Se-" natusconsultum, impowering us to inform our " selves of this Conspiracy, and to secure the "Ring-leaders thereof. It is highly reasona-" ble that the Magistrates of the People take " cognizance by themselves of what concerns " the welfare of the People, and that such a De-" cree as we demand be immediately granted, " without wasting time, as is too often the " case in formal Speeches and putting of Que-" stions: The least delay were dangerous: who knows but this very Night may be " pitch'd upon for the Execution of this bloody "Defign. To conclude, they must be Con-" fpirators themselves that are against enquiring " into the Conspiracy.

ł

There was not a Senator but detested such an Enterprize; they were however divided as to the Answer they shou'd make to Virginius.

2 4

The more timorous were apprehensive that a Refusal wou'd irritate the People, and raise a But those, on the contrary, who Sedition. were of a firmer Character, represented that it was no less dangerous to grant the Tribunes a Senatusconsultum, than to put Arms in the Hands of raging Madmen, who wou'd immediately employ them against the chief of the Senate. In this diversity of Opinions. Claudius, one of the Consuls, arose, and addressing himself to Virginius, declared that he did not oppose the Enquiry which he demanded; that he even consented the Plebeian Magistrates shou'd be the Inquisitors; but that first of all he was for examining whether the Conspiracy were real and undeniable: "Let us therefore, fays he to him, fee " who fent that mysterious Letter which " you received in your Tribunal; who are the Senators and Knights named in it. "Why do not you name them your felf? "Surely we have time enough to hear "the Names of those great Criminals. Why " did you not at least lay hold of the "Bearer of an anonymous Letter, that " contained so foul an Accusation against the " Principal Men in the Republic? I am no 66 less surprised, that you have not made us " sensible of the wonderful concurrence there is between the circumstances, which at first " made you suspect some Conspiracy to be on " Foot, and the Letter which acquaints you with the Heads and Accomplices of it. Is it " possible you cou'd imagine the Senate wou'd " deliver over our most Illustrious Citizens to " your Fury, upon the bare Credit of a Letter destitute of all manner of Proofs?

"Yes, Conscript Fathers, the Tribunes flatter'd themselves you wou'd do this; and

"the cafiness with which you have lately fuffered us to be robb'd of Ceso, made those

"feditious Magistrates entertain a notion, that under so weak a Government, they might

venture at any thing. This is the bottom of this Chymerical Conspiracy with which

"they thought to frighten us; and if the State has reason to apprehend any Danger,

" it is only from these Wheedlers of the Peo" ple, who tho' they set up for the Defen-

" ders of the Public Liberty, are indeed its

" Enemies.

This Discourse pronounced resolutely by a Consul, whose Penetration and Probity were acknowledged by all, quite cast down the Courage of the Tribunes. They went out from the Senate with no less Shame than Indignation. The People were waiting for them: They repaired to the Assembly, where they inveighed equally against the Consul, and against the whole Senate.

But C. Claudius followed them; he mounted the Rostrum first. Arm'd with that Considence which slows from Truth, he express himself to the People in the same manner that he had to the Senate, and spoke with so much Strength and Eloquence, that the better fort among the People were convinced, that this private Scheme of a Conspiracy about which the Tribunes made so much noise, was only an Artistice invented by themselves, to have it in their Power to destroy their Enemies. For all this the Rabble persisted obstinately in believing the Reality of this imaginary Conspiracy, which helped to nourish their Hatred against the Pa-

tricians:

tricians: And the Tribunes carefully maintained them in an Error, which gave them an oppor-

tunity of shewing their own Zeal.

Rome 293.

In a Government so full of Troubles and D.H.l. o Commotions, Rome was upon the brink of Livy Dec. falling under a Foreign Yoke. A private 1.1.3.c.15. Sabine formed a design so daring; his Name was Appius Herdonius; a Man of distinction in his own Country for his Birth, Wealth, and the great Number of Clients who followed his Fortunes; withal, Ambitious, Bold, Enterprizing. He imagined it was not impracticable to surprise the City, because of the Divisions that raged between the People and the Senate. He reckon'd that he should raisethe Slaves, be joyned by all the Exiles, and even get the common People to declare for him, by entertaining them with hopes that he wou'd make them the absolute Disposers of the Laws of the Government. His Design was, after having surprised Rome, to make himself the Sovereign of it; or to deliver up the City to the Community of the Sabines, in case he were not able with his own Forces to maintain himfelf in his Usurpation.

He first communicated his Design to his particular Friends. Many enter'd into his Project, in hopes of enriching themselves by the Plunder of Rome; by their means he raised Four Thousand Men, as well his own Clients, as a great number of Fugitive Slaves, Exiles and Men of no Settlement, whom he gave a retreat to in his own Estate. He then fill'd fome flat-bottomed Vessels with these Troops; and driving down the Stream of the Tyber in the Night-time, landed before break of Day by the fide of the Capitol. He got up the Hill

Hill without being perceived by any body, and under cover of the darkness possessed himfelf of the Temple of Jupiter, and the Fortress adjoyning to it. Thence he throws himself into the neighbouring Houses, and cuts the Throats of all that refuse to join him. While part of his Soldiers fortifie themfelves and cut Intrenchments along the Hill, those Romans that had escaped the first Fury of the Sabins run down to the City, carrying Terror and Affright along with them. Alarm spread every way; the Consuls, awakened by the Noise, and no less fearful of the Domestic than the Foreign Enemy, know not whether this Tumult comes from within or without. Their first care is to place Guards in the Forum, and at the City Gates. The Night is spent in doubts and uneafiness: At length Day comes, and discovers who is the Head of fo daring and fo strange an Enterprize.

Herdonius from the top of the Capitol difplays a Hat fixed upon a Javelin, as the Signal of Liberty, with design to engage the Slaves, who were very numerous in the City, to come and joyn him. His Soldiers, in order to keep the People from taking Arms, cry that their General is come to Rome only to free the Inhabitants from the Senate's Tyranny, to abolish Usury, and set up Laws advantageous to the People. The Confuls got the Senate together by break of Day. They agreed to make the People take Arms. The Tribunes declared they wou'd not oppose it, provided they did but know beforehand what Reward the Citizen and Soldier might expect: " If " you will promise us upon Oath, said they to ce the

"the Consuls, that as soon as we have retaken the Capitol you will nominate the

Commissioners whom we demand for the

"Establishing of a Body of Laws, we are ready to march against the Enemies. But

" if you are yet inflexible, we shall take care to withhold the People from exposing their

" Lives to support so cruel and so Tyrannical a

"Government.

The Senate heard not without the quickest Indignation, that the Tribunes shou'd thus set a Price as it were upon the Defence of the City and the People's Service. It was plain they intended to take advantage of the present dangerous conjuncture. C. Claudius was rather for going without the People's mercenary affiftance, than buying it with fuch odious Conditions. He was of opinion that the Patricians themselves, with the help of their Clients, were powerful enough to drive out the Enemy. That if they shou'd happen to want a greater number of Troops, they might call the Latins and the other Allies to their Aid: And that in case of extremity, they had better arm even their Slaves than to submit to the Tribunes. But the oldest Senators, and those that had most Authority, seeing the Enemy over their Heads, and fearing the Sabines, the Æqui and the Volsci might be let into the City, were of opinion, that in so imminent a Danger they ought not to refuse the People any thing that cou'd induce them to take Arms. P. Valerius, first Consul, who was of this mind, went to the Forum, and promised the People, that as foon as ever the Capitol was retaken and the City restored to quiet, he wou'd not hinder the Tribunes from proposing the Law: And

And that as to his own particular, whether it was determined to accept it, or whether it was rejected, he wou'd only confult the good of his Fellow-Citizens, and wou'd always remember his Name as an Hereditary Obligation upon him to favour the People's Interests in all things that were not contrary to the general good of the Republic. The People charm'd with these hopes took Arms, and solemnly swore never to lay them down without leave from the Confuls. The Romans called this way of arming Tumultus. None was exempt from it. The General usually pronounced these Words: Let those that wou'd fave the Republic follow me. Then those who were affembled, swore all together to defend the Commonwealth to the last drop of their Blood: Which was call'd Conjuratio. When the People, all armed, had taken these Oaths, the two Confuls, according to custom, drew Lots which shou'd lead on the Attack. This Post fell to Valerius, and Claudius in the mean while marched out of the City at the Head of a body of Troops, to hinder any Succours from coming to Herdonius, and to keep the Enemy from attacking any other part of the City to make a diversion.

But no Troops appeared in the Country, except one Legion, which L. Mamilius, the Supreme Magistrate of Tusculum, sent of his own accord to the assistance of the Romans: Claudius ordered it to march into the City. Valerius put himself at the Head of the Citizens and Allies, and marched strait against the Enemy. The Romans and Tusculans fought with equal Emulation. They strove who shou'd have the Glory of Forcing the Intrenchments sirft. Herdonius bore their Onset with a determined

Courage:

Courage: He was besides favoured by the Superiority of his Post. They fought for a long time with great Fury and equal Obstinacy. The Day was already far spent, before it was possible to distinguish which side had the Advantage. The Conful Valerius striving by his own Example to encourage his Soldiers to make another push, was slain at the Head of the Attack. P. Volumnius, a Consular Person that fought near him, caused his Body to be covered, in order to conceal from the Troops the knowledge of fo great a Loss. He afterwards led them on so bravely, that the Sabines were forced to give Ground, and the Romans carried their Intrenchments before they perceiv'd that they fought without a General. Herdonius, having lost most of his Soldiers by disputing the Ground Inch by Inch, seeing himself without hopes, and his Fortifications forced, caused himself to be killed, to avoid falling alive into the Hands of the Romans. Those few of his Soldiers that were left fell most of them upon their own Swords; some threw themselves from the top of the Rock. Those that the Romans cou'd take alive, were treated as Robbers. They no less severely punished the Deserters and Exiles that had joyned Herdonius; and by this Victory the Foreign Enemy was drove out of the City. But the Domestic Foe still continued the most powerful in it, and the Tribunes even took occasion from this Advantage, and the Promises of the Conful Valerius, to renew their Pretensions and to raise fresh Troubles.

Those Magistrates of the People, or to speak more properly those eternal Fomenters of all Seditions, cited *Claudius* to propose the Law, and

and thereby to satisfie the Manes of his Collegue, who had bound himself to do it in so folemn a manner. The Conful, to flacken their heat and gain time, had recourse to various pretences. At one time he excused himself from holding the Assembly, upon account of the necessity there was of purifying the Capitol, and offering Sacrifices to the Gods. At another time he amused the People with Games and Public Spectacles. At length, having quite worn out these Pretences, and finding himself close prest by the Tribunes, he declared that the Republic being deprived of one of her Rulers by the Death of Valerius, it was expedient, before they offer'd to establish any new Law, to proceed to the Election of another Conful; and accordingly he appointed the Day when the Comitia of Centuries shou'd be held. The Senate and the whole Body of the Nobility who were fo greatly concerned to oppose the reception of this Law, resolved to chuse in the room of Valerius some Consular, whose Merit might please the People, and who yet wou'd take-care to defeat the Tribune's Proposal. With this intent they cast their Eyes upon L. Quintius Cincinnatus, the Father of Ceso whom the People had lately banished with so much Malice. And they took their measures so well, that the Day of Election being come, the first Class, confisting of eighteen Centuries of Cavalry and fourscore of Infantry, gave him their Voices: This unanimous Consent of all the Centuries of a Class which out number'd all the rest, secured him that Dignity, and he was declared Conful in his Absence and without his Participation. The People were surprized and terrifyed

at this choice: They plainly saw that by setting over them a Consul provoked with the Banishment of his Son, the whole Design was to defer the publication of the Law. Nevertheless the Deputies of the Senate, without giving any heed to the Peoples Discontent, went to setch Quintius out of the Country, whither he was retired since his Son's Disgrace, and where he cultivated with his own Hands sive or six Acres of Land which were lest out of the bro-

ken Remains of his Fortune.

These Deputies found him driving the Plough with his own Hands. By faluting him Conful, and presenting him with the Decree of his Election, they made him acquainted with the Subject of their Journey. That venerable old Man was under some doubt what Resolution to Being wholly free from Ambition, in his own choice he preferred the Sweets of a Rural Life to all the Pomp of the Consular Dignity. Nevertheless, Love of his Country prevailing in his Mind above his own Satisfaction, he took leave of his Wife, and recommending to her the care of the House, "I fear, says he, my " dear Racilia, our Fields will be but ill ma-" nured this Year. They at the same time invested him with a Robe bordered with Purple, and the Lictors with their Fasces presented themselves to guard him and receive his Commands. Thus his Merit and the Necessities of the State brought him back to Rome, where he had never fet his Foot fince his Son's Difgrace. He had no sooner taken possession of the Consulship, but he got an exact Relation to be made to him of all that happened in Herdonius's Invasion. Thence taking occasion to convene the Assembly of the People, he mounted the Roftrum,

The

Rostrum, and without declaring himself either for the People or Senate, he reprimanded them both with equal Severity. He reproached the Senate, that by their continual Complyance with all the Tribunes Pretensions, they had fed the Insolence and rebellious Spirit of the People. He faid, there was left in the Senate none of that love of their Country, and that defire of Glory which feemed to be fo natural to their Order. That a timorous Policy had taken place of the legal Authority, and of the firm Resolution which was so necessary in Government. He added, that an unbridled Licentiousness reigned in Rome: That Subordination and Obedience seemed quite banished from it. That now but lately, to the shame of the Roman Name, some seditious Men had been seen to put a Price upon the Defence of their City, ready to acknowledge Herdonius for their Sovereign, if they might not change the Form of the Government. "This is the " Fruit, cried he, of those continual Harangues "with which the People are so infatuated. 66 But I shall take care to carry them out of " the way of these Seducers, which now reign in Rome with more Insolence and Tyranny "than ever did the Tarquins. Know then, Ye " Roman People, that my Collegue and I have " resolved to make War upon the Equi and " the Volsci. We declare too, that we will " even pass the Winter in the Field without " ever re-entring, during our Consulate, into a "City fo full of Seditions. We command all " those that have taken the Military Oath to 66 appear to Morrow with their Arms at the " Lake Regillus. That shall be the Rendezvous " of the whole Army.

The Tribunes answered in a scoffing manner, that they did not know but he might chance to go to the War alone with his Collegue, and that they wou'd take care no Levy shou'd be made. "We shall not want Soldiers, re-"plied Quintius; and we have yet under our "Command all these that took Arms before the Capitol, and swore solemnly not to lay them down again without permission from the Consuls. If by your Instigation they refuse to obey us, the Gods Avengers of Perjury will know how to punish them for their Desertion.

The Tribunes to evade so positive an Engagement cried out, that that Oath bound them only to the Person of Valerius, and so was buried with him in his Tomb. But the People, more plain-hearted, and in those Days ignorant of the pernicious Art of interpreting the Laws of Religion according to their own Purposes, rejected so frivolous a Distinction. Every Man prepared himself to take Arms, tho' very unwillingly. What still encreased their Repugnance, was a Report which was spread about, that the Confuls had given private Directions to the Augurs to be very early in the Morning at the Bank of the Lake. apprehended that their design was to hold a general Assembly there, and that so all which had been done in former ones for the Advantage of the People might there be annulled, fince they cou'd then receive no Benefit from the Affistance and Opposition of the Tribunes, whose Authority and Function were confined to a Mile about Rome: So that if they had gone to that Assembly, they wou'd have had no more Regard paid to them, than the meanest Plebeian. Plebeian, and been equally subject to the Power of the Consuls.

Quintius, to keep the People in awe, gave out over and above, that at his Return he wou'd convene no Assembly for the Election of new Consuls; but that he was resolved to name a Dictator, to the intent that the Seditious might learn by their Punishment, that all the Harangues of the Tribunes wou'd not be sufficient to shelter them from the Power and definitive Sentences of the Supream Magistrate.

r

e

y

m

y

of

or

n-

nd

fo

he

ys

ng

vn

m.

ns,

eir

ead

Di-

the

vas

l a

ich

an-

ed,

om

ies,

ned

had

had

nest

ian,

The People, who till then had never made War but against Enemies bordering upon Rome, being always accustomed to return home to their Houses at the end of every Campaign, were struck with Consternation at a design which threatened to make them spend the Winter in a Camp. The Tribunes were no less allarmed at the thoughts of an Assembly out of Rome, where Resolutions might be taken contrary to their Interests. Both, intimidated by the firmness of the Consuls, had recourse to the Senate. The Women and Children, all in Tears, conjured the principal Men in the Senate to mollify Quintius, and to prevail with that rigorous Magistrate that their Husbands and their Fathers might return to their homes at the end of the Campaign. The Affair was This was put upon a kind of Negotiation. the Point to which the Conful by this affected but necessary Severity wanted to bring the Tribunes. A fort of Provisional Treaty was made between them: Quintius promised not to take Arms, and not to force the Troops to Winter in the Field, unless he were constrained to do it by some new Incursions of the Enemies; and the Tribunes on their parts bound S 2

themselves to make no Proposal to the People concerning the Establishment of the new Laws.

Quintius, instead of making War, spent the whole time of his Consulate in dispensing Justice between Man and Man. He gave Audience to every body freely; he examined the Pleas of each Party with Attention, and then gave such equitable Judgments that the People, charmed with the Mildness of his Government, seemed to have forgot that there was any fuch thing as Tribunes in the Republic.

Notwithstanding a Conduct so full of Moderation and Equity, Virginius, Volscius and the rest of the Tribunes used all their Endeavours to get themselves perpetuated in the Tribuneship, alledging that the People stood in need of their Zeal and Capacity to procure the Reception of Terentillus's Proposal. The Senate, foreseeing the Abuses that might proceed from such a perpetual Magistracy, made a Decree prohibiting any Citizen from standing two Years together for the same Office. But without any regard to a Regulation fo necessary for the maintaining of the Public Liberty, those Tribunes, accustomed to the Sweets of Authority, made so much stir, that they were continued in the same Employment a third The Senate apprehending there was nothing which those seditious Spirits wou'd not attempt, without confidering the Decree they had just published, were also on their side for continuing Quintius in the Consulship; but that great Man opposed it warmly; he

1. 4] c. 1. represented with great Gravity to the Senators the wrong they did themselves in offering to violate their own Laws. That nothing shewed

the

the weakness of the Government more than that Multitude of new Laws which were proposed daily but never observed. That it was by this wavering Conduct that they justly drew upon themselves the Contempt of the Multitude. The Senate, equally touched with the Wisdom and the Moderation of Quintius, return'd to his Opinion. The Election was made; Q. Fabius Vibulanus and L. Cornelius rear of Maluginensis were named Consuls for the ensurement of the went back to the Country, to resume

his former Labour and Occupations.

e

St

y

f

e

d

S

d

ee

le

5

e

rs

O

d

After his departure, the Friends of his Family, and among others A. Cornelius Servius and C. Servilius, both Quæstors that Year, provoked at the unjust Exile of Ceso, prosecuted M. Volscius his Accuser for being the Author and Minister of so cruel a Prosecution. Those two Quæstors, by the Power vested in their Office, convened the Assembly of the People. They produced their Witnesses, some of which gave Testimony that they had seen Ceso in the Army, on the very Day when Volscius pretended he killed his Brother at Rome; others affirmed that Volscius's Brother died of a languishing Distemper, which was upon him fome Months, and that he never stirred out of his House after he fell ill. These Facts and many others were attested by so many Persons of unquestionable Credit, that there was no room left to doubt of Volscius's Malice in this Calumny. But the Tribunes, being the Collegues and Accomplices of Volscius, put a stop to this Profecution, declaring they wou'd not fuffer the Peoples Votes to be gathered upon any Affair whatfoever, before they had given

their Suffrages with relation to the Laws proposed. The Senate made use of the same Excuse in their turn, and whenever the five Commissioners demanded by the Tribunes were talk'd of, revived the business of Volscius. The Consulate of Fabius and Cornelius pass'd away in these successive Contentions.

Year of Rome 295.

The Wars broke out afresh under that of C. Nautius and L. Minutius their Successors. The Sabines and Agui renewed ther Irrupti-Nautius marched against the Sabines, defeated them, and entered their Territories, where he laid all waste with Fire and Sword. Minutius was not so successful against the Æ-That timorous General, who thought less of Conquering than of avoiding being Conguered, had like to have perished with his whole Army thro' excess of Precaution. He had intrenched himself in a place, where at his Back, at his Right and Left he had Mountains that covered his Camp. These natural Fortifications left him but one Passage out: The Equi were beforehand with the Romans, and got Possession of it. They then fortified themselves in such a manner, that it was impossible to constrain them to fight: They easily fetched their Provisions and Forage from the Country behind them, while the Roman Army, shut up within the Straits of those Mountains, were in want of every thing. Some Horsemen, who under cover of the Night made their way thro' the Enemies Camp, carried the News to Rome. They faid, that the Army being furrounded on all fides, and in a manner besieged, wou'd for want of Provisions be obliged to throw down their Arms, if they were not speedily relieved. Quintus Fabius, the

the Governor of the City, immediately difpatched a Messenger to the other Consul to inform him of the extremity his Collegue was in: Nautius leaving his Army under the Command of his Lieutenants, fet out privately, and repaired to Rome in all haste. He arrived there in the Night, and after conferring out of Hand with some of the chief of the Senate, it was agreed, that it was necessary upon this occasion to have recourse to the Remedy, which was usually made use of in the greatest Calamities, that is to fay, to name a Dictator. The Conful, according to the Prerogative of the Confulship, named L. Quintius Cincinnatus, Year of and returned with the fame diligence to put Rome himself again at the Head of his Army. The 295. Governour of Rome sent the Consul's Decree to Quintius; they found that great Man as before, cultivating his little Inheritance with his own Hands. The Deputies, at the same time that they gave him Information of his new Dignity, presented to him four and twenty Lictors armed with Axes bound up in their Fasces, a kind of Guards used by the Ancient Kings of Rome, and which the Confuls had retained in part, only they never carried Axes in the City but before the Dictator. The Senate having notice that Quintius drew near, fent him a Boat in which he cross'd the Tyber; his three Children, his Friends, and the Principal of the Senate received him at his Landing, and conducted him to his House. The Dictator next Day named for General of his Horse L. Tarquitius, a Patrician of uncommon Valour, but who not having wherewithal to buy and keep a Horse, had till then never served but in the Infantry. Thus all the Hopes of S 4 the

C

d

e

n

2-

e

e

le

d

r-

a i-

if

s, ie the Republic lay in an Old Man just taken from the Plough, and a Foot-Soldier rais'd to be

general Leader of the Horse.

But these Men, whose Poverty was glorious to them, wanted for no Greatness of Soul and Valour in Command. The Dictator ordered the Shops to be shut up, and all Inhabitants that were of an Age fit for Arms, to be before Sun-set in the Field of Mars, each with twelve Stakes, and Victuals for five Days. He then put himfelf at the Head of these Troops, and before Day arrived pretty near the Enemy's Camp. He went himself and viewed it, as well as the obscurity of the Night would permit him. His Soldiers by his Command made feveral loud Shouts, to give the Consul Notice of the Arrival of Succour; they intrenched themselves, and fortified their Intrenchments with a Pallisado, made of the Stakes they had brought from Rome: And these Intrenchments served at the same time to shut up the Enemies The General of the Æqui, named Camp. Gracchus Duilius, endeavoured, notwithstanding the Darkness, to interrupt this Work. Troops advanced, but with that fear and doubt which is always occasioned by the Night and a Surprize. Quintius, who foresaw this Attack, set one part of his Army against them, while the other continued to Intrench themselves. The noise of the Fight and the Shouts of the Combatants made the Conful yet more certain that Succour was come. He attacked the Camp of the Equi on his fide, not fo much with hopes of carrying it, as with defign to make a Diversion. This second Attack drew part of the Equi to that fide, and gave the Dictator time to finish his Intrenchments, so that the Enemy

en

oc

0

ır

ps

et

S,

1-

re

p. ie

n. al

10

S,

1-

it d

es ed

g

15

ot

et

e

1-

at

P

a

r

y

Enemy at break of Day faw themselves in their turn besieged by two Armies. The Battel began anew at the return of Light. The Dictator and Conful then attacked the Enemy's Camp with their whole Power. Quintius found the part that he attacked the least fortified, because the General of the Equi did not imagine he shou'd have occasion to defend himself on that side: He made but a weak Resistance, and being apprehensive that his Camp wou'd be won Sword in Hand, he had recourse to Negotiation. He fent Deputies to the Conful, who, without so much as hearing their Message, referred them to the Dictator. Those Deputies being come to his Presence, notwithstanding the heat of the Action, conjured him to restrain the Impetuosity of his Soldiers, and not to make his Glory of the Destruction of almost a whole Nation; and offered him to quit their Camp and retire without Baggage, without Cloaths and without Arms. Quintius replied D.H. 1. 100. sternly, that he did not esteem them so much as to Liv. Dec. 1. think their Death wou'd be of any consequence Val. Max. to the Republic; that therefore he freely grant-1. 2. c. 7. ed them their Lives; but that their General and principal Officers must remain Prisoners of War, and all their Soldiers pass under the Yoke, otherwise he wou'd immediately cut them all to pieces. The Equi being furrounded every way, submitted to all the Conditions that their victorious Enemy pleased to impose on them. Two Javelins were fixed in the Earth, and a third fastened across upon the Points of those. All the Æqui, naked and unarmed, passed under this Military Portico: An Infamy which the Conquerors were wont to impose upon the Vanquished, who cou'd neither fight nor retire. At the same time

they delivered up to the Romans their General and Officers, who were reserved to attend the

Dictator's Triumph.

Quintius gave the Plunder of the Enemy's Camp to the Army he had brought with him from Rome, without retaining any thing for himself, or suffering the Troops of the Conful, whom he had relieved, to take any share in it. "Soldiers, faid he to them feverely, "you that were upon the brink of falling a "Prey to our Enemies, you shall have no share " in their Spoils. Then turning to the Conful: " And you, Minucius, added he, you shall " never more command these Legions in Chief, " till you have shewn more Courage and Capa-66 city. This military Correction did not at all lessen the Respect and Acknowledgment which these Troops paid their Deliverer; and the Conful and his Soldiers decreed him a Crown of Gold of a pound Weight, for having faved the Lives and Honour of his Fellow-Citizens.

The Senate having received Advice of the Victory which the Dictator had obtained, and the judicious Partition he had made of the Enemy's Spoils, being perfectly ashamed that so great a Captain shou'd spend his old Age in Poverty, fent him word they defign'd he shou'd take to himself a considerable share of the Booty he had won from the Enemy. They were even for allotting him a Portion of the Lands conquered from the Equi, with a sufficient number of Slaves and Cattel to stock it. But Quintius thought he owed his Country yet a greater Example. He preferred that Poverty, which he look'd upon as the Afylum and Support of Liberty, to all the Wealth that was offered him;

him; being persuaded that nothing can be more free and independent than a Citizen who without having any Expectations from others, receives his whole Subsistance from his own Labour or Inheritance.

al

e

s

n

r

-

C

1,

e

1-

11

1-

h

e

n

d

C

d

i

This great Man, in less than a Fortnight's time, brought off the Consul's Army, defeated that of the Enemy, and returned back to Rome in Triumph. There were led before his Chariot the Enemy's General and a great number of Officers, which were the chief Ornament of that Procession. The Roman Soldiers followed him with Garlands of Flowers upon their Heads, celebrating his Victory with military Songs. He then abdicated the Dictature, tho' he might legally have held that Dignity six Months. Such uncommon Moderation added yet more to his Glory, and the Love of his Fellow-Citizens.

The Friends of his Family laying hold of this favourable conjuncture, at length prevail to have Volscius the Accuser of Quintius Ceso, his Son, brought to a Tryal. The Assembly was held; the Informer being convicted of Calumny and false Testimony, was condemned to perpetual Cic. pro Banishment; Ceso was recalled home, and the domo sua. Tribunes finding the People adored his Father, durst not oppose so just a Sentence. Quintius, contented with his Son's return, and cloathed with Glory, broke away from the Praises of the Romans, and went again and buried himself in his Cottage, where he fell once more to his old Labours.

He did not stay there long; new Disturbances raised by the Tribunes of the People upon account of the Publication of the Terentillian Law, rear of out of spite at Ceso's return, obliged the Senate Rome

to recall his Father, to fet him up against those seditious Magistrates. The Sabines and Æqui, under the Consulate of C. Horatius and Q. Minucius, had lately been making their customary Inroads up to the very Gates of Rome. Senate immediately ordered the two Confuls to march against the Enemies out of hand. The Conduct of the Army appointed against the Æqui fell by lot to Horatius; and Minucius was intrusted with the command of that which was defigned against the Sabines. But when the People were to Arm, the Tribunes opposed it, and protested in their old way, that they wou'd not suffer one Plebeian to give his Name to go to the War till they proceeded to the Election of the Commissioners. The Consuls, who cou'd not without Concern fee the Enemy laying waste the Territory of Rome with Impunity, convened the Senate to find means to remove their Opposition. Quintius, who was come back from his Country retreat, represented with his usual firmness, that instead of wasting time in contending with the Tribunes, they ought to march directly against the Enemy; that if the People, still mis-led by their Tribunes, persisted in their Disobedience, he advised that the whole Senate and the Patricians, with their Friends and Clients, shou'd take Arms; that 'spite of the Tribunes, they shou'd be followed by all good Men who fincerely loved their Country; that for his part, tho' depressed with Years, he was ready to fet the Example first, and that they shou'd find in Battel either a glorious Victory or an honourable Death.

The whole Senate applauded so generous a Resolution. Those venerable Old Men hasted to their Houses to take Arms; and attended by

their

y

e

S

C

S

C

d

0

n

d

g

1,

e

k

is

n

0

C

-

C

ir

at

7-

ir

h

ŧ,

)-

d

y

their Sons, their Clients and their Servants, they repaired to the Forum, where the Consul C. Horatius had convened the Assembly. The People all flocked thither, and feemed touched at so new a fight. The Consul represented to them, that all those illustrious Men chose rather to expose themselves to almost a certain Death, than to endure the Enemy any longer at the Gates of Rome, and exhorted all good Citizens to join them, in order to avenge the Glory of the Roman Name. But Virginius, who had got himself continued five Years together in the Tribuneship, cried out with great vehemence, that he wou'd never fuffer the People to take Arms till the business of the Laws was first determined. The Conful, upon this, turning towards the Tribunes with a Countenance full of Indignation: "It must be con-" fessed, says he to him, you perform a very " heroic Action, and keep strictly up to your " ordinary Behaviour, in fomenting eternal Di-" visions between the People and the Senate; " but do not imagine your Clamours and Op-" position shall make us abandon the Repub-" lie, founded upon such fortunate Auspices. Know, Virginius, and you other Tribunes, "that these illustrious Old Men, whom you " fee bending more under the number of their "Years, than the weight of their Armour, " are going to fight generously against the Enemies of the Roman Name; while You, " the intrepid Defenders of the People's Rights, 66 lie hid behind our Walls, and, like fearful Women, wait with anxiety for the event of "the War. Unless perhaps you please your " felves with a fancy, that after the doubtful " chance of Arms has rid you of the Senate and the Roman Nobility, the Enemy, when victorious, as a Recompence of your Cowardice and Baseness, will leave you in a quiet

"Enjoyment of the Tyranny you have usurped, and not destroy Rome, tho' in every part

" of it they find nothing but Monuments and

"Trophies of their former Defeats.

"But even the for your fakes they shou'd fpare it, be assured, that our Wives and Chil-

"dren, after having lost their Fathers, their Husbands, and all that was most dear to them,

" will have too much Courage to survive us; they are firmly resolved to set every thing in

"Flames, and so bury themselves under the

"Ruines of their Country. Such, O Romans, added the Conful, are the difmal Effects

" which your perpetual Diffentions must una-

" voidably produce.

The People melted at so moving a Discourse; every body shed Tears: The Consul finding them softened, and giving way himself to his Sorrow, "Are not you ashamed, added he, to see those illustrious old Men, those Senators whom you call your Fathers, devote themselves generously to a certain Death for a rebellious and insolent People? Do you deserve

"the Name of Romans? And ought you not to hide your Heads with confusion, false as

" you are to your Country, Deferters of her

"Armies, and greater Enemies to your Gene"rals than the very Æqui and Sabines?

Virginius, perceiving that the Consul's Reproach made an Impression upon the Multitude, thought it time to conform to the present conjuncture; and assuming a milder Behaviour; "No, we will never abandon you, Conscript

"Fathers, said he; we are not capable of betraying

craying the Interests of our Country. " will live and die with you: Death must be ce pleasant to us, fighting under such worthy Leaders for the common Defence of our « Country. It is true, that being Citizens of the fame State, and contributing all equally, and with the Price of our Blood, to establish 66 Liberty, we have demanded Laws superior to the Authority of the Senate, and restrictive of its extent. But is it not the effential Con-" stitution of all Republican States, that no " body shou'd be subject to any but the Law, and that the Law shou'd be more powerful than the Magistrates? Nevertheless, if you " perfift in your Resolution of standing to the " ancient Customs, I consent for my Particular to mention it no more; I will even re-" move my Opposition; and I am ready to exhort the People to take Arms and follow vou, provided you will grant them one Fa-" vour, which will be of Service to them, without being at all detrimental to your Au-66 thority.

en

ar-

iet

p-

art

nd

i'd

il-

eir

m,

IS;

in

he

25,

cts

1a-

e;

ng

nis

to

ors

n-

e-

ve

ot

as

er

e-

e-

e,

n-

r;

pt

eng

The Conful made Answer, that if his Request was reasonable, the People wou'd always find the Senate ready to favour them, and that he might freely fpeak his Mind. Virginius having conferred a moment with his Colleagues, replied, that he defired he might explain himself in the Senate. The Confuls immediately adjourned to it: Virginius follow'd them: He carried with him the Original Decree of the Creation of the Tribunes. Being admitted into the Assembly, he read it aloud with the permission of the Consuls, and added: "All that " the People request of you by my Mouth, 66 Conscript Fathers, is, that you wou'd please

to add five Tribunes more to those that were 66 first established upon the Mons-Sacer, so that 66 henceforth the five first Classes may each " have two Tribunes. Virginius then retired, to leave the Senate to deliberate about his Proposal. Caius Claudius highly opposed this new demand. He represented to the Assembly, that to add five more Tribunes to the five old ones. was to multiply the number of their Enemies: that by degrees they wou'd form a second Senate, whose only aim wou'd be to ruin the Authority of the first. But Quintius took this in another light; he maintained on the contrary, that by multiplying the number of the Tribunes, it wou'd make it the more easy to sow Division among them. That there wou'd always be some one less seditious than the rest, who out of Respect to the Senate, or perhaps out of Jealousy, wou'd oppose the Enterprizes of the others, which wou'd be sufficient to prevent them from taking effect. That they ought to rejoice to see them renounce for this the new Laws which they before demanded fo earnestly; fince no body was to be told, that in matter of Government, all change in the Laws shook the very Foundations of the State. The Opinion of that great Man pass'd by plurality of Voices. Virginius was call'd in again; the first Consul inform'd him that the Senate granted his Request. He took care to set off this new favour in terms agreeable to the Dignity of the Body which he was at the Head of: And the Senate and People, with a mutual Agreement, concurred equally, tho' with oppofite Views, to the augmentation of the number of the Tribunes.

Year of Rome 296.

It was not long e'er the Senate found that their compliance with the last Demands of the People, only put them upon new Pretentions. And indeed, the Tribunes, grown more audacious than ever by their Number, proposed that Mount Aventine shou'd be granted to the People, or at least that part of it which was not occupied by Patricians. S. Icilius, the Head of D.H. 1.10: the College of Tribunes, remonstrated, that the Land of that Mountain belonged to the Republic; that some Patricians had indeed purchased certain Parcels of it; but that others had got Possession of what they enjoyed by mere Usurpation. That the remaining part of that Ground being uncultivated and uninhabited, he demanded that it shou'd be given gratis to the People, who growing daily more numerous, began now to want Habitations. He proposed at the same time, that the Patricians shou'd be confirmed in the Possession of those Parcels which they cou'd fhew good Claims to, and that those of that Order shou'd be turned out who had built upon it without any lawful Title, being however first repaid the value of the Houses.

To outward appearance there was nothing but Justice in this Proposal: It was besides a matter of small importance: but M. Valerius Year of and Sp. Virginius, the Consuls of that Year, apprehending that from this partition of Mount Aventine, the People might claim a right to renew their old Pretensions upon the conquered Lands, delayed calling the Senate, in hopes this D.H. 1.10. new Demand wou'd by degrees fall of it self. Icilius perceiving the design of the Consuls in this affected Omission to convene the Senate, ventured upon an Attempt never heard of before:

fore: He fent them an Apparitor, commanding them to affemble the Senate forthwith, and

repair to it themselves without delay.

The Confuls, justly provoked at the Tribune's Audaciousness, and the Apparitor's want of Respect, ordered that Errand-bringer of theirs to be driven away ignominiously; and one of the Consul's Lictors, by their Directions, gave him fome Bastinadoes for his pains. This was enough to open the seditious Mouth of the Tribune, who only wanted a Pretence to inveigh against the Senate. He represented to the People, that in the Person of his Apparitor they had violated the facred Privileges of the Tribuneship; he caused the Consul's Lictor to be seized, and was immediately for putting him to Death, as a Man guilty of Sacrilege, and devoted to the infernal Gods. The Confuls, tho' the chief Magistrates of the Republic, cou'd not rescue him out of the Hands of those who were both his Adverfaries and his Judges.

The Senate endeavoured to gain over fome one of the Tribunes that might put a stop to this Fury of his Colleague; but Icilius had been beforehand with them there, and had fo warmly represented to all the Tribunes that the Power and Strength of their College lay wholly in their Union, that they agreed none shou'd oppose what was determined among them by plurality of Voices. Thus the poor Lictor faw himself just upon the point of losing his Life, for having obeyed the Orders of the Confuls too punctually. The Senate, to fave him, were obliged to come to a Composition with the Tribuncs: Mount Aventine was yielded to the People by a Senatusconsultum, and the Lictor was released. But this Affair made a very great breach

breach in the Authority of the Consuls; for the Tribunes, after the Example of *Icilius*, kept themselves always afterwards in possession of this new Prerogative of convening the Senate; they who at their Institution durst not so much as go into it, but attended its Commands under a Portico like common Officers.

They did not stop here; Icilius, the boldest and most enterprizing of all the Tribunes, being continued in that Magistracy for the following Year, laid a design to bring the Consuls themselves under their Subjection, and to oblige those chief Magistrates of the Republic, tho invested with the Sovereign Power, to undergo the Judgment of the Assembly of the Peo-

ple.

n

r

n

)-

1-

W

e,

ls

re

i-

0-

as

at

ch

T. Romilius and C. Veturius, who were Con- rear of fuls this Year, finding the State was never more Rome at rest at home than when her Arms were car-298. ried abroad, resolved to make War against the Æqui and Sabines, in revenge of their continual Inroads and Devastations. The business was to raise Troops, and get the Legions to march out of Rome. The two Confuls, but especially Romilius, a Magistrate severe and haughty in his Nature, raised those Troops and proceeded in the Incollment of the Plebeians, with a Rigour very improper in the present Disposition of the People's Minds. They admitted no manner of Excuse, and condemned to heavy Fines all those that did not appear immediately upon their being called. Romilius even caused several to be taken into Custody, for trying upon different Pretences to get off from going to the War that Campaign. The Tribunes did not fail to take their parts, and they endeavoured to relcue those Prisoners out of the hands of T 2 the

the Lictors. The Confuls advanced to support the Execution of their Orders: The Tribunes, enraged at their Resistance, and backed by the angry Populace, were so presumptuous as to offer to seize the Consuls themselves, and to command the Ediles to lead them to the public Prisons. This Attempt upon the Sovereign Magistrates of the Republic encreases the Tumult; the Patricians, provoked at the Audacioutness and Insolence of the Tribunes, fly among the Crowd, strike all without distinction that oppose them, disperse the Assembly, and oblige the Tribunes to fly like the rest, after having been foundly beaten. These latter, confounded and enraged at the ill Success of their Undertaking, convened the Assembly for the next Day, and took care to bring to it most of the Plebeians out of the Country. The Assembly was very numerous; the Tribunes, feeing themselves the strongest, caused the two Confuls to be fummoned like the meanest private Men; and the Apparitor cited them to come and answer before the Assembly of the People for what had happened the Day before: The Confuls rejected the Citation with Scorn. Then the Tribunes, who flattered themselves the Senate wou'd oblige them, as they had done Coriolanus and Cefo, to acknowledge the Authority of the Assembly of the People, and submit to their Judgment, repaired to the Palace. Being introduced into the Senate, they demanded Justice for the Violence which they pretended to have been done them by the Confuls. They added, that in their Persons the sacred Laws of the Tribuneship had been violated; that they hoped the Senate wou'd never suffer so great a Crime to escape without Punishment; and that they

they expected either that the Consuls shou'd clear themselves by Oath from having had any hand in the last Tumult; or if a just Remorfe of Conscience hindered them from taking such an Oath, that they shou'd be condemned by a Senatusconsultum to appear before the Assembly of the People and undergo their Judgment. Romilius answered them, and reproached them in a very high strain, that they themselves, by opposing the levy of Soldiers, were the only Beginners of this Tumult; that they had carried their Audaciousness so far, as to go about to feize upon the Confuls, the Sovereign Magistrates of the Republic; that even now they had the Infolence to threaten them in full Senate to make them submit to the Judgment of the People, when they had not Power to bring the very meanest of the Patricians before them without a Senatusconsultum on purpose. he declared to them, that if they were so daring as to offer to proceed a step further in so unreasonable an Enterprize, he wou'd immediately put the whole Body of Patricians in Arms. march into the Forum at their Head, fall upon every body that appeared against him, and that perhaps he might make them repent their having abused the Senate's Patience in so gross a manner, and their having given fuch a loofe to their unbounded Audaciousness.

2 2 2

y

0

y

of

ey

at

ey

These Disputes held so long, that it grew Night before the Senate cou'd come to any Resolution in this Affair; and most of the Senators were glad that these mutual Complaints and Reproaches had wasted the time of the Assembly, that they might not be obliged to decide the Contest between the Tribunes and Consuls, and that they might avoid giving the T 2 former,

former, by a refusal, the Pretence they wanted

to raise a new Sedition.

Those Tribunes plainly perceiving that the Senate intended to draw the business into length, convened the Assembly of the People next Day, and made their Report to them of what had passed in the Senate. They declared, that no Justice was to be expected from a Body in which their Enemies governed, and that they wou'd throw up the Tribuneship, if the People did not come to some vigorous Resolution, which was so necessary for the Pre-

servation of their Dignity.

The most mutinous among the Plebeians were for retiring a second time upon the Mons Sacer in Arms, and from thence to begin the War against the Patricians. Others, more moderate in appearance, but indeed restrained only by the fear of a Civil War, proposed that without taking up Arms or folliciting a Senatusconsultum any longer, the People by their own proper Authority shou'd try the Consuls, and condemn them to a large Fine. Laftly, fuch as had not entirely lost the Respect that was due to the first Magistrates in the Republic, represented that it was a thing unheard of, for an Assembly of the People to pretend to try two Confuls in the very Year of their Confulate, and especially without the Participation of the Senate. That fuch a step seemed to them very bold; that they did not doubt it wou'd stir up new Tumults, which at length might produce a Civil War. That the Success of that was uncertain; that it was even to be feared if the Patricians got the better they wou'd utterly destroy the Peoples Authority, to be revenged of those who had gone

gone about to carry it too far. That therefore they were for deferring all further Proceeding against the Consuls, till they were out of their Office; and that in the mean while they might prosecute such private Persons as had shewn most Zeal for their Interests.

Of these three different Opinions, the Tribunes fluck to the fecond, which they thought the fafest and most ready way to fatisfie their Resentment, and they appointed the Asfembly wherein the People at their Suit shou'd condemn the Confuls to a Fine. But the Tribunes perceiving after the Peoples first heat was over, that they shew'd less Eagerness to carry a Point which they thought concerned only those Magistrates, they resolved, in order to make the more fure of their Revenge. to defer it, and even to cloath it with the old pretence of the People's good, without making the least mention of their difference with the Consuls. Thus the Day set for the Asfembly being come, Icilius, who spoke for the rest of his Collegues, declared that the College of Tribunes, at the Intreaty and for the fakes of the best Men in the Senate, dropt their fuit against the Consuls; but that tho' they gave up their own Interests, they were not capable of neglecting those of the People. That therefore they demanded, that the Bufiness of the Partition of the Lands shou'd be proceeded to; that it was high time to pass so equitable a Law, which had been long propofed but always kept off by the Artifices of the Patricians. At the same time he exhorted fuch Plebeians as were personally interested in this Affair, to speak their Minds freely to the Affembly.

7

t

,

0

r

-

d

t

at

C

e-

t-

cs

ad

ne

T 4

Ups

Upon this a Plebeian named L. Siccius or Sicinius Dentatus ascended the Rostrum. He was an Old Man of a handsome Aspect, tho' above threescore Years of Age; and with a Soldier's Eloquence he spoke gloriously of his own Valour, and of all the Actions in which he had fignalized himself. He first represented, that it was full Forty Years that he had bore Arms; that he had been in a hundred and twenty Engagements; that he had received five and forty Wounds, and all before; that in one fingle Battel he had been wounded in twelve feveral Places; that he had obtained fourteen Civic Crowns, for having faved the Lives of fo many Citizens in Battel; that he had received three Mural Crowns, for having first mounted the Breach in Towns taken by Storm; that his Generals had given him eight other Crowns, for having rescued the Standards of the Legions out of the Hands of the Enemies; that he had to shew in his House fourscore Collars of Gold, above threescore Bracelets, gilded Javelins, gorgeous Armours, and Furnitures of Horses, as the Testimonies and Rewards of the Victories he had gained in fingle Combats in the view of the two Armies. That nevertheless no manner of Regard had ever been had to all these Honourable Marks of his Services, and that neither he, nor Numbers of other brave Soldiers, who with the loss of their Blood had won for the Republic the better part of her Territory, possessed the least Portion of it: That their Conquests were fallen a Prey to some few Patricians, whose only Merit was the Nobility of their Descent and the recommendation of their Names. one of them cou'd justifie his Possession of those Lands

Lands by any lawful Title; unless they looked upon the Domain of the State to be their Patrimony, and the Plebeians to be vile Slaves, unworthy of having any Share in the fortune of the Commonwealth. But that it was time for that generous People to do themselves Justice, and that they ought to shew immediately, by passing the Law for the Partition of the Lands without varro de delay, that they had no less Resolution to stand Lingua by the Proposals of their Tribunes, than they D. H. 1. 10. had shewn Courage in the Field against the Enemies of the State.

Icilius gave great Commendations to the Pronouncer of this Discourse. But as he affected to appear a strict Observer of the Laws, he told him, they cou'd not with Justice resuse to hear what the Patricians cou'd alledge against the Law, and so adjourned the Assembly to the

Day following.

r

r

n

it

e

t

le ds

The two Confuls during great part of the Night held private Conferences with the chief Men of the Senate, to deliberate what Meafures were most proper to be taken to frustrate the designs of the Tribunes. various Counsels, it was resolved to employ first the most infinuating Manners, and the whole art of Eloquence to win upon the People and diffuade them from the Publication of the Law: But that if, by the Instigation of their Tribunes, they continued obstinately refolute to give their Voices for it, they shou'd oppose it with a high hand, and even make use of extremities. Word was sent to all the Patricians to be at the Forum very early with their Friends and Clients; that part of them shou'd furround the Rostrum to prevent the Tribunes from being the strongest about it, and

that the rest of the Nobility shou'd disperse themselves among the Assembly in small Parties, to oppose the distribution of the Tablets.

The Patricians did not fail to be in the Forum very betimes, and took Possession of all the Posts agreed upon. The Consuls being come, the Tribunes caused Proclamation to be made by a Herald, that if any Citizen had any folid Reasons to offer against the Publication of the Law, he might ascend the Rostrum and lay them before the People. Divers Senators presented themselves one after another; but the Moment they began to speak, an insolent Pack of Scoundrel People, suborned by the Tribunes, raifed fuch confused Clamours, that it was impossible to hear what they said. The Confuls, full of Indignation at this Infolence, protested warmly against all that shou'd be done in so tumultuous an Assembly. Then the Tribunes, throwing afide the Mask, told them confidently, that their Protest shou'd not hin? der the Promulgation of the Law; that the People had already been too long amused with vain Speeches, whose affected Prolixity was only intended to stave off the Decision of this Affair, and that therefore the Voices of the Affembly must now bring it to some Issue: And thereupon Icilius commanded the Urns to be opened, and the Tablets to be deliver'd out The Officers making ready to the People. to execute his Orders, several young Patricians of the best Families in the Republic, taking this Command as the Signal which they had privately agreed upon bore away the Urns, and scatter'd about the Billets Others, at the Head of their Friends and Clients, throw themselves into

nto the Crowd, push, strike and disperse the People, and at length remain Masters of the Forum. The Tribunes, exasperated to the highest pitch to see their Measures thus disconcerted, retired last of all; but they convened the Assembly again for the next day; and after having complained that the Majesty of the Roman People shou'd be thus openly violated, they demanded Permission to inquire after the Authors of this Tumult, which was immediately granted them.

They did not want for Witnesses who deposed unanimously, that the Disorder was raised by most of the young Patricians. But as their great Number served them in a manner for an Asylum, and it was impossible to include in the Indictment all the Patricians in the Republic, the Tribunes, who only wanted to Sacrifice such Victims to their Resentment as might intimidate the Senate, turned the whole Accusation upon those who were of the Postbumian, Sempronian and Clelian Families. They were cited to appear before the next Assembly D. H.l. 10. of the People; but tho' these young Patrici-Livy Dec. ans valued themselves upon having hindered the 1. l. 3. Law from being passed, the Senate did not care to let them appear, nor that any Body shou'd undertake their Defence. The wifett Senators flattered themselves, that by giving them up to the People, that Moderation would diminish their Resentment, or that having given a vent to their Fury by condemning of Them, that Revenge wou'd put the Profecution of the Law out of their Heads. Mean while the Day of the Assembly being come, the more violent Spirits among the People were for enquiring into this Affair with

e

e

o

y

-

d

d

ıd

0

with the utmost severity; but the more prudent fort, who looked upon this filence of the Patricians as a tacit Acknowledgment of the fault of the Persons accused, being satisfied that they were left to the Peoples Judgment, were only for condemning them to a Fine, which was agreed to by plurality of Voices. The Senate did not oppose it; they even suffered the Effects of the Criminals to be fold publickly to pay it, and the Produce was confecrated to Ceres. But the Senate caused those Effects to be bought again by private Hands with their Mony. They were some time afterwards restored to the former Proprietors; and the Senate was not displeased at having stopt the Publication of the Law only with the Expence of a little Mony. But the Tribunes were not so easily blinded. They foon fell again upon the Divifion of the Lands. It was the common Subject of their Harangues.

While the People spent whole Days in the Forum listening to those Declaimers, there arrived Expresses from Tusculum, with Advice, that the Equi were fallen upon the Territory of that City, which was allied to the Roman People; that they laid waste the whole Country with Fire and Sword; that it was even to be feared they wou'd carry that Town, if they laid Siege to it: And the Inhabitants begg'd for Succour with the greatest earnestness. The Senate immediately decreed, that the Confuls shou'd take the Field with the Forces of the Republic. The Tribunes failed not to oppose it, according to their old Custom, and wou'd fain have had their Consent bought by the Publication of the Law. But the People, more generous than their Magistrates, remembring the

the Affistance they had received from Tusculum against Herdonius's Invasion, heartily offered to take Arms. An Army was raised out of hand; the two Consuls put themselves at the Head of it. Siccius Dentatus, the Plebeian that had spoke so zealously in favour of the Agrarian Law, appeared under their Standard with eight hundred Veterans like himself, who had all compleated the time of Service prescribed by Law, but yet wou'd go once more to the War under the particular Command of Siccius, whom

they loudly named the Roman Achilles.

Their Army advanced to Algidum, fixteen Miles from Rome, and met the Enemy not far from the City of Antium. They were intrenched upon the top of a Hill. The Romans incamped upon an Eminence over against them; they fortified themselves carefully, and the Generals kept the Soldiers within the Camp, to conceal their Force from the Enemy. The Æqui took these Precautions for a fign of Fear in the Confuls. They often descended into the Plain, and came sometimes to the very Edge of the Intrenchments of the Camp, whence they upbraided the Romans with the Faint-heartedness of their Generals. The two Confuls, to confirm the Enemy in this false confidence, still kept the Gates of the Camp shut. But one Day when Romilius commanded in chief, and had the fole Power of giving Orders; that Conful perceiving that the whole Army of the Equi was gone out of their Camp, and that most of the Soldiers scattering up and down the Country, were foraging in Security quite to the very Foot of his Intrenchments, he resolved to charge them in the Plain, and at the same time to fall upon the Camp they had upon the

e

the Hill, that they might not know on which fide the true Attack really was. For this purpose he sent for Siccius Dentatus, who commanded the Body of Veterans mentioned above; and either out of esteem for his Valour, or with defign to expose that Plebeian in a very dangerous Action, he gave him the Charge of attacking the Enemy's Camp. " My Colleague " and I, faid he to him, intend to march against D. H.l. 10.66 the Enemy. While we draw all their Forces to " this fide, do you throw your felf with the " Body under your Command into the narrow " by-way in the Mountain which leads to " their Camp. Push on quite to their Intrench-" ments, and try to make your felf Master of "them. By attacking them in different places " at the same time, we shall make a beneficial Di-" version, and by dividing our Enemy's Forces, "weaken their Defence. Siccius told him he was ready to obey his Orders implicitly: "But " give me leave, fays he, to represent to you "that the Execution of them seems impossi-" ble, and extreamly dangerous at the fame "time. Do you believe, continued that old "Officer, that the Enemy, when they left "their Camp and came down from the Hill, " did not secure the only Passage that can faci-" litate their Retreat with a good Body of In-" fantry? Can I force such a Post with the Veterans only, without being supported by grea-

"ter Forces? Such an Enterprize is only likely
to cut us all off. Is it possible eight hundred

"Men should withstand the Enemy's whole
"Army which will fall upon our Rear at the

" Army, which will fall upon our Rear at the fame time that we have those who guard the

" way thro' the Mountain in our Front?

The

The Consul, angered at Siccius's Remonstrance, replyed abruptly, that without pretending to act the General, his business was only to obey his Orders: Or if he thought there
was too much Danger in it, he wou'd employ
some other Officer, who without setting up for
a Director, wou'd bring the Undertaking to a
glorious Issue. "And you, mighty Captain,
"added the Consul with a jeering Scorn, you
that have followed the Wars forty Years, that
have been in sixscore Battels, and whose
whole Body is covered over with Wounds,
return to Rome without having dared to face
the Enemy, and carry back to the Forum
that elegant Topque which is more formi

"that eloquent Tongue which is more formidable to your Fellow-Citizens, than your

" Sword is to the Æqui and Hetrurians.

e

d

l,

y

d

le

ie

ne

ne

The Officer, enraged at the General's Reproaches, told him boldly, that he found he was resolved either to destroy an old Soldier or shame him; but that one was much easier to do than t'other; that he wou'd march up to the Enemy's Camp, and win it, or fall in the attempt with all his Comrades. Those Veterans then took their leaves of the rest of the Soldiers, who looked after them as upon Men fent to the Slaughter: Happily for them they were under the Conduct of an old Officer that understood his Trade. Siccius went round about a tedious way, and after a long March descried afar off, and upon the neighbouring Mountains, a great Wood that feemed to stretch quite to the Enemy's Camp. He was immediately refolved to gain it: "Cheer up, my Lads, cried " he, making his way up to it, either I am "much mistaken, or I perceive a Path that will lead us much more safely to the Ene-66 my's

"my's Camp, than that which our General directed me. It was not without difficulty that those old Soldiers, cumber'd with their Arms, got to the top of that Hill. But they were no sooner there, but they found that they were upon a Height which commanded the Enemy's Camp, and they drew near to it under the concealment of the Wood, without being perceived

by the Centinels and advanced Guards.

During this March the two Armies of the Romans and the Æqui were come to an Engagement. They fought a great while with equal Valour, and Victory had yet declared for neither Side. Most of the Soldiers that the Æqui had left for the Guard of their Camp, not apprehending any Danger from behind, were got to the top of the Hill to see the Battel. While they were scattered about for the more easie Enjoyment of so great a Sight, Siccius, who had view'd them carefully, took Advantage of this their Negligence. He falls upon the Camp, furprizes the Guard, cuts in pieces all that withstand him, takes the rest Prisoners; and having posted some Soldiers to guard the Camp, he next throws himself upon those that were looking upon the Fight at their ease, and soon masters them. Some who being at a distance had time to fly, ran immediately and got Possession of the hollow Road that led into the Plain, and where the Æqui had left some Cohorts to fecure their Retreat, as Siccius foresaw they wou'd. The Roman Officer, who pursued them briskly, is there almost as soon as they, pushes them hard, and drives them in confusion among that Body of Troops. All take to flight; the Soldier terrified does not perceive what a small Number he has to deal with; Fear makes them feem

al

h

al

ry

ni

feem double in his Eyes; he runs for Safety into the main Body of the Army, and carries Fear and Confusion thither along with him: Siccins follows close, and adds to it. The Æqui seeing themselves attacked in their Rear, give ground. After this it was not so much a Battel as a general Rout. Some try to regain the Hill; others disperse different ways over the Plain, and where-ever they turn themselves they meet the Enemy and Death. Most of them were cut to pieces; and none were saved but such as the Romans thought sit to make Prisoners, or that escaped by favour of the Night which came on during the En-

gagement.

t

e

e

of

,

1-

g

e

-

a-

 \mathbf{id}

n

n,

to

ey

m

es

ng

he

all

em

em

While the Confuls were finishing their Victory and pursuing those that fled, Siccius, full of Resentment against the Generals, forms a Defign to deprive them of the Fruits and Honours of the Victory. He ascends the Enemy's Camp once more with none but his own Troop; cuts the Throats of the Prisoners; kills the Horses; sets fire to the Tents, the Arms, and all the Baggage, and leaves none of those Marks of Victory which were required from a General when he demanded the Triumph. He then marches away with extream Diligence, arrives at Rome with his Cohort, and gives an account to the Tribunes of what had passed. The People seeing those old Men alone, and yet covered with the Blood of the Enemies, flock about them, and enquire News of the Army. Siccius tells them of the Victory that they had gained over the Equi, and at the fame time complains of the Inhumanity of the Conful, who, he faid, without Necessity, and only to satisfie his Hatred to the Plebeians

Plebeians, had exposed eight hundred Veterans to a Death, in all likelihood, unavoidable. He then related by what good Fortune they had escaped the Snares which the Consuls had laid for them. " Nevertheless, added he, we took " the Enemy's Camp, and cut to pieces those "that guarded it. Thence we made our selves " Masters of the Straits in the Mountains; we drove the Equi out of them, and by our Valour paved the way for the Victo-" ry of the Confuls. The only Recom-" pence we defire is, that the Honours of Tri-" umph may not be allowed to Generals who " have made use of their Authority only to " destroy their own Fellow-Citizens without a « Cause.

The People, who already were but very ill inclined to the Patricians, promised they wou'd never consent that the Consuls shou'd have The Soldiers of those Generals, a Triumph. at their return, entered into this Cabal, in revenge that the two Confuls had deprived them of the Booty, which they had fold for the Benefit of the public Treasury, under pretence that it was exhausted. The Consuls, to obtain the Honour of the Triumph, reprefented in vain, that they had won a compleat Victory, cut the Enemy's Army to pieces, and taken seven thousand Prisoners. The People, prejudiced against them with the belief that they had endeavoured to destroy the Veterans, obstinately refused to let them return publick Thanks to the Gods for their Victory, or enter the City with the Ornaments of the Triumph. The Senate, whether out of a Principle of Equity, or whether for Fear of some new Commotion, did not think proper to make

L'vy l. 5.

make themselves Parties in this Affair; and the People, who looked upon this Affront as a Victory over the whole Order of Patricians, did in the next Comitia bestow the Quality of

Tribune upon Siccius.

0

o a

11

d

re

s,

e-

ed

or

e-

to

e-

m-

es,

-05

icf

Te-

ırn

to-

of

of

of to ake

The two Confuls were no fooner out of their Office, but they were cited before the Assembly of the People in the Consulate of their Successors Sp. Tarpeius and A. Eternius. This was Year of the general Fate of those Sovereign Magistrates. Rome The Accusation ran upon the business of Sic-299. Max. cius; but their real Crime was the constant Op-13 c. 2. position they had both made to the Promulga-Plin. 1. 7. tion of the Agrarian Law. The People fined c. 28. them both, Romilius in ten thousand Asses, and Veturius in fifteen thousand. History does not inform us of the Reason of the difference which the People made in their Fines: It was perhaps because Veturius had the greatest hand in the ill Treatment of Icilius's Apparitor. What confirms this Conjecture is, that at the same time a Law was made, with the consent of all the Orders of the State, that any Magistrate shou'd have Power to lay a Fine upon such as shou'd be wanting of Respect to his Dignity: A Prerogative referved before to the Confuls only. But to prevent the Abuse and Excess of this new D.H. 1. 106 Authority, it was provided by the same Law, sub. fin. that the highest Fine for such Crimes shou'd never for the future exceed the value of ten Oxen or thirty Sheep: Copper Coins fo called from their Impression, and struck in the Reign of Servius Tullius the fixth King of Rome.

24 OC 62 End of the Fourth Book,

U2 THE



THE

HISTORY

OFTHE

REVOLUTIONS

That happened in the Government

OF THE

ROMAN REPUBLIC.

Воок V.

Ambassadors are sent to Athens to collect the Laws of Solon. Upon their return, the Administration of the Government is intrusted with ten Commissioners or Decemvirs chosen from among the Patricians. Appius, Head of the College of Decemvirs, becomes suspected by his Colleagues. To hinder him from being continued in the Decemvirate, they declare him President of the Assembly that was to make a second

cond Election. But he names himself for the first Decemvir, and the People confirm that No-These new Magistrates are for making themselves perpetual. For all the Opposition of the prime Senators, they obtain for themselves the Command of the Armies against the Æqui and the Sabins. The Romans decline Conquest for fear of augmenting their Power. The Severity of their Government, their Pride. Injustice, but above all the Passion of Appius for Virginia, cause their Ruin. Virginius, Father of that unfortunate Maid, being reduc'd to the sad Necessity of stabbing her with his own Hands, to secure her from the Brutality of that Decemvir, the Soldiers mutiny and return to Rome, where they obtain the Suppression of the Decemvirate and the Punishment of the Decemvirs. Consuls and Tribunes are once more reviv'd, and the People restor'd to all their Privileges.



be

1-

th

a-

bo

ois

ti-

e-

(e -

nd

E have seen, in the preceding Sheets, Rome, jealous of her Liberty, shake off her Kings; Monarchic Government turn'd into Republican under two Consuls; the Nobility and Populace of that Infant Republick, thro'

the same Love of Liberty, disunited and ready to part; the Tribuneship, which had been set up purely as a Pledge of their Re-union, become the Foundation of new Dissentions; and those Plebeian Magistrates, perpetual Makebates, pursuing and hunting down the brightest and most deserving Senators, and especially eager after the Ruin of the Consuls as soon as e-

U 3

ver

ver their Time was expired; infomuch that a Consular was to look upon himself as a Sacrifice of the People, and the Object of the Tribunes Fury. Such was the State of Rome, where it was then Criminal in the Supreme Magistrates to govern according to the Ancient Laws. Yet the Misfortune that befell Romilius and Veturius beforementioned, frighted not their Successors: Tarpeius and Æternius express'd never a whit the less Courage. gallant Confuls declar'd undauntedly to the People, that they might fine 'em as much as they pleas'd, or inflict yet more unjust Punishments upon 'em, when their Time was up; but that neither such Vexations, nor even the loss of their Lives, shou'd ever oblige them to consent to the Publication of the Agrarian Law. So much Resolution, together with the Unanimity of the Senate startled the Tribunes. Both Parties, equally tir'd with those continual Bickerings, lookt as if they were going to be reconcil'd. Not a Word was heard about the Partition of the Lands, for some time. All Heart-burnings feem'd to be quite over, or at least suspended. But the Populace, ever restless, only chang'd their View and Object: They return'd to the Terentillian Law. and requir'd of the Senate, that instead of those Arbitrary Judgments given by the Magistrates, a Body of Laws shou'd at last be citablisht and made publick, as well for the Guidance of those at the Helm of Affairs, as for the regulating the Contests that daily arose between private Persons.

The Senators were not against this Proposal: but when the Legislators were to be named, they wou'd admit of none to be chosen but

their

their own Members; the People, on the contrary, infifted, that as their Interest was equally concern'd in an Affair of that Importance, fo they ought by their Representatives to have a Share in fo noble an Employ. Accordingly they deputed the Tribune Siccius and his Colleagues to go to the Senate and maintain their Claim. The Affair was debated with much Heat, and the Senators were divided in their Opinions. But nothing was fo furprizing as the Conduct of Romilius, that Consular whom the People had but a little before condemned in a heavy Fine. Instead of opposing the Peoples Pretensions, as was expected, he declar'd that without going about to frame new Laws, 'twas his Opinion they need only difpatch away Deputies to Athens, there to compile fuch of the Laws of Solon as were known to be most popular among the Greeks; that those Deputies shou'd take care at the same time to make themselves acquainted with the Form of Government in the respective Cities and States of that Country, and when they were come back, Commissioners shou'd be appointed to make choice of fuch Laws as shou'd appear to be most suitable to the present Constitution of the Roman Republic: " And may "the Gods grant, added he, that those Com-" missioners propose to us Laws equally fa-" vourable to the Liberty of the People, and " the Authority of the Senate.

e

5

e

O

m

e

s.

i-

ıg

2-

ne

te

e,

b-

w,

ot

a-

be

he

as

ofe

al:

ed,

eir

This Advice was equally well received by both Parties. The Senate, whose Right of naming those Ambassadors no Body disputed, was fully satisfied that those whom they shou'd pitch upon to make this Collection, wou'd bring home nothing contrary to their Interests.

U 4 And

And the Tribunes, seduced with the hopes of feeing the Government of Rome reformed by the Model of a Commonwealth in which the whole Authority lay in the Assembly of the People, were never weary of giving the highest Praises to Romilius. Siccius himself, tho' his Enemy, declared that in the Name of the People he forgave him the Fine which he had been condemned to pay. But Romilius generously rejected this Favour from the Hand of an Enemy. He openly declared, that he defired no other Recompence but Power always to speak his Opinion with the Liberty that became a Roman Senator: And that as to the Fine which had been laid upon him, being a thing confecrated to Ceres, he wou'd think it Sacrilege not to pay it. The Senatusconsultum was then drawn and confirmed by the unanimous Voice of the People; and in pursuance thereof, the Senate fent as Ambassadors to Athens, Sp. Posthumius, A. Manlius, and P. Sulpitius Cumerinus, with Directions to gather the Laws and Customs of that City, and of the other Republics of Greece. During the rest of that Year the State was pretty quiet. But the next Year, in the Consulate of S. Quintius and P. Horatius, almost all Italy was afflicted with a The first Consul, four Tribunes of Plague. the People, and great Numbers of Citizens of all Conditions died of it. The People difperfed themselves on all sides to avoid it. Rome in this general Desolation became a Defart, and some Surprize was to be feared from the Equi, the Volsci and the Sabines. But the Contagion raged among them with the fame Fury; a Calamity that was general served instead

Tear of Rome

stead of Strength and Defence to the Re-

public.

e

,

e

-

-

.

r

-

-

h

-

e

n

e

e

D.

1-

S

r

it

t

a

f

18

G-

t.

-

n

e

e

1-

d

The next Year began with happier Auprear of pices. The Plague ceased in the Consulte of Rome P. Sestius Capitolinus and T. Menenius, and 301. the Ambassadors returned that had been sent to collect the Laws of Greece. The Tribunes of the People presently made warm Instances to Livy.1 3. the Confuls for the Election of the Commissi- D. H. l. ic. oners or Decemvirs, that were to be employed in the great work of fixing a Body of Laws for the Government of the Commonwealth. Sestius was not against it in the least; but Menenius, who looked upon all Changes in a State to be pernicious, and who perhaps had not forgot the Injuries his Father had received from the Tribunes, put off the Election as much as he cou'd. He at first excused himself upon account of the Necessity there was of chusing first the Consuls for next Year. He faid, that this great Affair being to be fettled under their Consulate, nothing ought to be done in it, till they were appointed, nay, and not without their Participation; but this was only a Pretence: he flattered himself that the Election of the Confuls wou'd suspend that of the Decemvirs, or at least, that the difference which might happen between them wou'd weaken the Authority of those new Magistrates. The impatience of the Tribunes hastened on the Comitia. Appius Claudius was chosen first Consul. This was the third from Father to Son in the Claudian Family that had been raised to that Dignity. All the Patricians gave him their Voices, in hopes he wou'd be no less zealous for the Power of the Senate than his Ancestors. T. Genutius was named for his

his Colleague. The Tribunes, after this Election was over, renewed their pursuit and follicitations to the Confuls then in Office, to oblige them to proceed to the Nomination of the Decemvirs. Menenius, who made nothing but dreadful Predictions of the Innovations to be brought in, confined himself to his House under pretence of Sickness, and chose rather not to stir out of it than be forced, if he went to the Senate, to propose the business of the new Laws. Sextius, on his part, tho' more favourable to the Tribunes, did not think it wou'd be decent for him to take upon him the Direction of so great an Affair, without the Presence and Agreement of his Colleague. The Tribunes, who were very jealous of all these delays, applied to Appius and his Colleague, the Consuls Elect for the ensuing Year. found Means to bring them into their Interests, in all likelihood by giving them hopes of having the greatest share in the Commission for the creating of the Laws. After having made fure of those two Senators, they introduced them into an Assembly of the People, which they had convened on purpose, to take meafures against the studied Put-offs of the Confuls then in Post. Appius mounting the Rofrum, spoke so artfully, that without declaring against the Senate he won the Hearts of the People. The chief Heads of his Discourse turned upon the Justice of establishing equitable Laws among all the Citizens, to the intent that Rome, so long split into two Parties, and in a manner into two different Cities, might for the future make but one Commonwealth. He added, that he was convinced the Nomination of the Decemvirs ought not to be deferred

deferred any longer; that the Proposal ought to be made to the Senate forthwith; and that if his Election to the Consulate and that of his Colleague were any manner of hindrance to the Appointment and Authority of the Decemvirs, they were ready to forego it, and declared that they actually did so, and that they wou'd gladly sacrifice even their Lives to procure so great a Benefit to their Country, as Peace and Union among their Fellow-Citizens.

e

r

e

f

e

t

n

C

e

Y

S

74

r

e

d

h

a-

1-

0-

g

10

(e

ii-

n-

es,

25,

n-

he

be ed

This Discourse was looked upon by the greatest Part of the Assembly to be that of a true Republican, that fincerely loved his Country's Liberty. The People especially, who expected nothing like this from a Patrician of the Claudian Family, heard him with no less Joy than Surprize. Some Senators on the contrary, who knew the proud ambitious Disposition of Appius, very much feared that under this feeming Moderation and difinterested Outside, he concealed Designs far different. But as this, after all, was mere Suspicion, the Patricians as well as the Plebeians gave great Praises to the Abdication he so freely made of his Title to the Consulate. The next work was to bring the Affair before the Senate Menenius, trufting to the Engagements he had privately entered into with his Colleague, still feigned to be fick, in order to avoid convening that Body; but Sestius, won over probably by a Promise of being included in the Number of Decemvirs, broke his Word with him. He affembled the Senate, and proposed the Nomination of the Decemvirs. The Opinions were divided, as usual; some Senators, fond of the old Customs, were averse to all Changes in the Government

of the State, and the Administration of Justice. But Appius, who had a strong Party in the Society, maintained on the contrary, that there was great Justice in establishing with the People's Consent Laws that might be constant Rules for the future to direct the Judgment of the Magistrates. And this at last was carried by Plurality of Voices. It was refolved to proceed forthwith to the nomination of the Decemvirs; but this created a new difficulty. The Tribunes of the People demanded in their Name that five Plebeians shou'd be let into that Commission. All the Senators unanimously opposed this Pretention. They represented, that as the Decemvirs were to take the Place and the Authority of the Confuls, it was a thing unheard of that common Plebeians, who were by their very Birth excluded from all Curule Magistracies, shou'd be invested with the Sovereign Power. The Tribunes found plainly that the Senate wou'd never give up this Point. After many Reasons offered on both Sides, they at length desisted from their Demand, for fear the nomination of the Decemvirs shou'd be dropp'd entirely; and so it was agreed that they shou'd all be chosen out of the Body of the Senate; that those Commissioners shou'd for one whole Year be invested with the Sovereign Power; that during the faid space of time there shou'd be neither Consuls nor Tribunes; that the Authority and Functions of all the other Magistrates shou'd be suspended during their Administration; that they shou'd draw up a Body of Laws extracted from those of Greece, and from the ancient Usages of Rome; and that after they had been communicated to the Senate and People, and had received their Confirmation, they

they shou'd always for the suture be strictly observed in the Government of the State, and the

Administration of Justice.

e.

)-

re

)-

es

ne

y

d

es

at

1-

is

e-

0-

of

e-

es,

er.

te

17

th

11-

n-

d

e;

le

r;

u-

gi-

11-

dy

nd

if-

ite

n,

ey

Some time afterwards, a solemn Assembly was held of the whole Roman People convened by Centuries. This Assembly was preceded by Auspices and the other Ceremonies of their Religion; they went then upon the Election of the Decemvirs. Appius Claudius and T. Genutius Year f were appointed first; and it was thought they Rome deserved this honourable Preference for the ge-302. nerous Abdication they had made of the Confulship. The Votes fell next upon L. Sestius, Veturius, C. Julius, A. Manlius, S. Sulpitius, P. Horatius, T. Romilius, and Sp. Posthumius, all Confular Persons. The Senate hoped they had made choice of the most zealous Defenders of their Prerogatives; but most of them, to attain this Dignity, had entered into private Ties with the Tribunes of the People. Thus each Party looked upon this Election as their own particular Work, and concurr'd jointly in it, tho' with Views widely different. Tho' Appius was the first, and in a manner the Head of the College of Decemvirs, yet he lived with his Colleagues in a perfect equality and good understanding. He especially affected the most popular Behaviour; he faluted the meanest Plebeian that he met in his way; he took upon himself the care of their Affairs and Interests, and procured them speedy Justice. Each Decemvir prefided in his turn one whole Day. He had then the twelve Lictors who walked before him with the Fasces. They successively dispensed Justice in the Forum, which they did with fo much Equity, that the People, charmed with their Conduct, seemed to have forgot their

their Tribunes. Most of 'em made Prayers for the Continuance of a Government so full of Moderation; nay there were many Plebeians who declared, that instead of restoring the Consulship and Tribunate, the best thing they cou'd do wou'd be to find ways to make the Decemvirate perpetual. The Decemvirs laboured with great Application that whole Year upon the Compilation of the Laws, which they gathered partly from the ancient Decrees of the Kings of Rome, and partly from the Laws of Plin. 1. 34. Greece, which one Hermodorus of Ephesus, who happened to be then at Rome, interpreted to

When their Work was compleated,

c. 5.

they proposed it in ten Tables, of which only Cicer de a few Fragments are come down to us. Some de leg. 1.2. relate to the concerns of Religion, others to & 3.

the Public Right, and the greater part to private Persons. These Tables were affixed up in Public, that every Man might read them, make his Reflections upon them, and communicate them to the Decemvirs, before they received the force of Laws. They were then carried before the Senate, where they were examined and agreed to by plurality of Voices; and it was decreed by a Senatusconsultum that the Comitia of Centuries shou'd immediately be called to have them ratified by the whole Roman People.

The Day of the Assembly being come, the Auspices were solemnly taken, and the Laws read over again in presence of the Ministers of Religion. The Decemvirs represented to the People with great Modesty, that they did not know they had omitted any thing which feemed necessary for the Preservation of Liberty, and the Establishment of that Equality which

wa9

Ö

d

)=

y

C

of

0

0

1,

y

C

0

1-

n

e

e

C

re

d

as

ia

0

)-

C

75

of

e

ot

1-

7,

h

29

was so necessary in a Republic. That however they wou'd have their Fellow-Citizens examine their Performance carefully, and declare freely what they conceived ought to be retrenched or added; to the intent that for the future the People might live under Laws which they themselves might be said to have Made rather than Approved. A Discourse so candid had no other Answer but the highest Praises. The Laws contained in the ten Tables were received with the Consent of all the Centuries. There were only fome few particular Persons who were of Opinion that several Regulations were wanting which might make two other Tables, and that if they were added to the former Ten, they shou'd then have a compleat Body of the whole Roman Law. This Defect created a defire to make another Election of Decemvirs for one Year more. The Senate and the People equally approved of this Defign, tho' upon different Motives. The People only wanted to keep back the restoration of the Consular Authority, which they were jealous of; and the Senate on their Parts were glad to be freed of the Tribunes, who were so odious to them.

The Assembly being agreed, the Day was appointed for proceeding to a new Election of Decemvirs. During the interval before the Comitia, the Senate sell into Divisions about that Dignity. Some aspired to it out of Ambition; others, who at first had been the greatest Sticklers against its Establishment, courted it then, but only in order to exclude those whose Conduct and Designs they suspected. Appias pretended not to desire it at all; and to induce his Colleagues to renounce it, he declared publickly, that having sully performed the Duty of good

The History of the Revolutions

good Citizens by the affiduous Labour of a whole Year, it was now just to grant them some Repose, by appointing others to succeed them.

But his Engagements with the Duillians and Icilians, that is to say, with the Heads of the People, and the Favourers of the former Tribunes of that Name; the Pains he took to make himself agreeable to the Plebeians; his Affability and Moderation, so contrary to the Pride of which the Claudian Family was accufed; all this gave great Uncafiness to his Rivals, and rendered him suspicious to his Colleagues. These latter, to make sure of his Exclusion, appointed him to prefide at the new Election. And as it was the Custom for him that presided in the Affembly to name those who courted the Post that was to be filled, they imagined that after the Declaration he had made of his renouncing that Dignity, he cou'd not have the face to name himself: Besides that it was a thing unheard of, especially in Elections for the Curule Dignities, that the President shou'd propose himself, in Prejudice of the rest of the Candidates. But Appius turn'd their Policy upon their own Heads. The Day of Assembly being come, contrary to all Rules of Decency and Modesty, he named himself for first Decemvir; and the People, ever the Tools of those who know how to blind them with an appearance of acting for their Good, confirmed so extraordinary a Nomination. That Decemvir had the Cunning then to get the majority of Votes for Quintus Fabius Vibulanus, a Consular Person indeed, and of Manners too till then unblameable, but of a flow inactive Temper, naturally averse to Business, without Resolu-

n

Year of Rome 303.

n

đ

d

C

1=

0

is

e

1-

Si

S.

n,

n.

ed

ed

ed

118

ve

ras

or

ı'd

hc

oly

cy.

of

an

m-De-

jo-

, a

ive

out olu-

Resolution, and uncapable of withstanding him in the Execution of the Designs which he was meditating. It was upon the same Motive, that he next got the Election to fall upon M. Cornelius, M. Servilius, L. Minucius, T. Antonius, and M. Rabuleius, Senators very little esteemed in their own Body, but devoted to his Service; and by his private Brigues they carried that Dignity from the Quintians, and even from his own Uncle Claudius, a zealous Patrician, whom he excluded, as well as his Collegues in the first Decemvirate. what surprised and alarmed the Senate, was that Appius, forgetting his own Glory and that of his Ancestors, was not ashamed, out of Complaifance to the late Tribunes, to whom he had fold his Faith, to propose three Plebeians for Decemvirs, pretending it was but just, that there shou'd be some in that College to take care of the Interests of the People. Thus he brought in Q. Petilius, C. Duellius, and Sp. Oppius, all three Plebeians, excluded by their Birth from those Prime Magistracies, and who attained them only for having born Appius thro' all the Voices of the People, whom they led as they pleased, and whom they had perfuaded to be for him, according to the private Agreement between them.

Appius at length seeing himself by means of Year of his Dissimulation and Cabals arrived at the Rome Head of the Decemvirate, thought now of 303 nothing but how to make his Dominion perpetual; he immediately assembled his new Collegues, who were all obliged to him for their Dignity. Then throwing off the Mask of a Republican, he represented to them, that X nothing

sub. fin.

nothing was more easie than to retain the Sovereign Power for their whole Lives; that they were intrusted with a Commission wherein the Consular Authority and the Tribunitian Power were both united; that the Senate and People, always at variance, ra-ther than see the Restoration of those two Magistracies, which were equally odious to them, wou'd chuse to leave the Government as a Pledge in their Hands; that the private People wou'd by degrees grow accustomed to their Authority, and that to preserve it they must bring into their Tribunal the Cognizance of all manner of Affairs, without fuffering them to be carried either before the Senate or the Assembly of the People. That above all, they shou'd carefully avoid convening either of those two Bodies, which might make them sensible either of their Rights or That there wou'd always be found Strength. in such Assemblies unquiet Spirits impatient of all Dominion, and that to render the Authority of the Decemvirate unshakable, it behoved the Decemvirs to continue firmly united among themselves. That they ought to have a mutual Complaifance for each other; that the whole College ought to interest themselves warmly for the particular Affairs of each Decemvir; and he added, that he thought they shou'd all bind themselves by the most solemn Oaths, never to interrupt one another in the Execution of their particular Defigns. As this Proposal of Appius agreeably flattered the Ambition of his Colleagues, they readily came into his Scheme. Every one applauded his Thought; D.H.I. 10 all took the Oaths that he required, and unanimously agreed to omit nothing that might

ferve

ferve to their keeping, as long as they lived, the Empire and Command which had been intrusted to them but for one fingle Year: A new

Conspiracy against the Public Liberty.

0

nt

te

to ey

ng

ite

ve

ng

ht

or

nd

of

10-

red

ng

ole

ply

u'd

ths,

ro-

nbi-

into

ht;

ina-

SLAC

Thele new Magistrates entered into Possession Id. Ibid. of their Dignity on the Ides of May; and to 15th of strike Terror and Respect into the People, they May. appeared in public each with twelve Lictors, bearing Axes among their Fasces, like those that used to go before the ancient Kings of Rome, or the Dictator; so that the Forum was filled with a hundred and twenty Lictors, who dispersed the Multitude with a Pride and State insupportable in a City where Modesty and Equality always reigned before. The People cou'd not see this Furniture of Tyranny without Indignation. The comparison they made between the Moderation of the Confuls, and the pompous and haughty Behaviour of the Decemvirs, foon led them to regret their old Government. They complained in private, that now ten Kings were let up over them instead of two Confuls. But these Reflections came too late, and it was no longer in their Power to destroy their own Work. The Decemvirs began to reign imperiously and with a despotic Authority. Besides their Lictors, they were always furrounded by a band of Fellows without House or Home, most of them blackened with Crimes, or loaded with Debts, and that cou'd find no Safety but in the Troubles of the State. But what was still more deplotable, there followed in the Train of these new Magistrates a crowd of young Patricians, who preferring Licentiousness to Liberty, made their Court to the Dispensers of Favours in the most abject manner: Nay and to gratify their Passi-X 2 ons,

ons, and provide for their Pleasures, did not blush to be the Ministers and Accomplices to those of the Decemvirs. There was now no Asylum that cou'd be called safe for Beauty and Virtue. Those unbridled Youth, under shelter of the Sovereign Power, tore the Daughter out of the Bosome of her Mother with Impunity; others, upon frivolous Pretensions, took Possession of the Estates of their Neighbours that lay convenient for them. In vain Complaint was made to the Decemvirs; the unhappy People were driven away with Contempt, and Favour and Self-interest sate in the Place of Law and Justice. If any Citizen, warmed with a remaining Spark of the ancient Liberty, was fo bold as to express his Resentment, those Tyrants ordered him to be beaten with Rods like a Slave; others were banished; some were even put to Death; and Confiscation always followed the Punishment of the poor Wretches.

The People, groaning under so tyrannical a Dominion, turned their Eyes to the Senate, from whence they hoped for Liberty. But most of the Senators, dreading the Fury of the Decemvirs, were retired into the Country. Those that staid in the City were not displeased to find that the Severity of the present Government made them wish for that of the Consuls; and they slattered themselves the People wou'd gladly give up their Tribunes, if they cou'd but be delivered from the Dominion of the De-

cemvirs.

C. Claudius, a Consular Person and Appius's Uncle, deeply concerned to see his Nephew make himself the Tyrant of his Country, went several times to his Gate to put him in mind how much he shamed the Memory of his Ancestors

ot

to

no

ity

el-

ter

ou-

ok

urs

m-

ip-

pt,

ice

red

ty,

ole

ods

ere

ol-

la

te,

oft

)e-

ofe

to

n-

S;

ı'd

ı'd

e-

s's

W

ent

nd

n-

ors

cestors by so odious a Conduct. But the Head of the Decemvirs, who cou'd not bear the Thoughts of his Remonstrances, eluded his Visits with different Pretences. C. Claudius cou'd never penetrate so far as his Apartment, and that old Magistrate found by Experience, that Tyrants never own either Relations or Friends.

In the mean time those new Magistrates added two Tables of Laws to the Ten that had been promulgated the Year before; but they fettled nothing in them about the Partition of the conquered Lands. It was particularly observed also, that in the two last Tables there was an Article prohibiting Alliances between the Patricians and Plebeians by Inter-Marriage, and that they made an express Law of an old Custom. It was suspected that the Decemvirs established this new Law, and at the same time neglected to make any Regulation in the bufiness of the Partition of Lands, only to perpetuate the Division between the two Orders of the Republic. They were apprehensive that if the Nobility and People shou'd ever unite, they wou'd turn against them that ancient Animosity which it was so much their Interest to keep alive. However, as the Authority of these Decemvirs was to hold but for one Year, it was hoped their Tyranny wou'd expire with that Term. But the Ides of May came, and not the least appearance of any Comitia or of an Assembly for an Election. The Tyrants then shewed themselves bare-faced, and in spite both of Senate and People retained the Government, without any other Title but Force and Violence. All that gave them the least Umbrage were proscribed. Many Citizens voluntarily banished themselves from their Country; some X 3

took Refuge even among the Latines and Hernici; and Rome, now almost a Desart, was left a

Prey to those Tyrants.

Every Body secretly deplored the Loss of Liberty, but none was so generous as to attempt to break their Chains. The Roman People seemed to have lost that Courage which before got them so much Fear and Respect among their Neighbours. The Latines and those that had submitted to the Dominion of the Romans, despised the Orders that were sent them, as if they cou'd not bear to see the Empire remain in a City which had lost its own Liberty; and the Equi and Sabines made Incursions quite up to the very Gates of Rome with im-

punity.

Those eternal Enemies of the Republic taking Advantage of the Consternation the Roman People was in, raised two Armies. The Sabines advanced along the Tyber to within forty Stadia of Rome; and the Equi, after having plundered the Territory of Tusculum, came and encamped near Algidum. Those two Armies seemed to threaten Rome with a Siege. This News very much surprized the Decemvirs; they were obliged to arm on their parts, but there was no doing this without the joint Consent of the Senate and People, and they cou'd not but know how odious they were to both. They held feveral Councils among themfelves, full of Trouble and Confusion. Question was, Whether they shou'd apply to the People, or the Senate; and what perplexed the Decemvirs most was, their fear that the Year of their Magistracy being expired, the very Right of Convocation wou'd be disputed with them, as being now but meer private Men.

Men. At length, after several Deliberations, as the Decemvirs were most of them of the Body of the Senate, and had Friends in it, they determined to call that, and agreed upon the Part that each of them shou'd act in the Assembly. Their Creatures undertook to answer the Complaints of those that shou'd demand the Abolition of the Decemvirate. They chose this way, in hopes they shou'd obtain a Levy of Troops by their Credit; and they thought the People, as much as they seemed enraged, cou'd not resist it, having with their Tribunes lost the Privilege of Opposition.

of

t-

0-

ch

2-

ofc

20-

m,

e-

er-

ns

m-

ta-

20-

he

rty

ng

me

Ir-

ge.

m-

rts,

int

ney

to

m-

'he

to

ked

the

the

ted

ate

en.

A Herald by the Decemvirs Order immediately convened the Senate. They then went to it themselves, but they found none there but their own Adherents. The other Senators had thrown up the Care of the Public Affairs, and were retired, as we said before, to their Country Houses. The Decemvirs sent Messengers thither to them, appointing another Assembly for next Day. Most of them returned to Rome, and came to the Senate; but with Views widely different from those of the Decemvirs. Appius in a studied Discourse laid open the Necessity of taking Arms, to repel the Incursions

L. Valerius Potitus, without waiting till it D. H.I. II. came to his turn to give his Opinion, presently stood up. He was the Son of that Valerius who was slain at the Head of the Romans fighting against Herdonius, and Grandson of the samous Valerius, surnamed Publicola, one of the chief Founders of the Public Liberty. Appius fearing that a Man of his Birth and Character, if he spoke first, wou'd propose something contrary to the Interest of the Decemvirs, sternly commanded

X 4 him

him to fit down and hold his Peace, and wait till Senators older than himself, and more confiderable in the Republic, had declared their Opinions first. "I wou'd have done so, re-" plyed Valerius calmly, if I had nothing to speak upon but the Business you proposed. "But the Liberty of the Republic is to be " looked to first. Shall it ever be said that a " mere private Man, whose Magistracy is ex-" pired, imposed Silence upon Valerius? Must " your Tyranny reduce a Senator to regret "that Affistance which the meanest of the Peo-" ple used to receive from the Opposition of "their Tribunes? But fince you and your Colce leagues have usurp'd their Power, I appeal " to those very Colleagues, not so much with " hopes of being relieved, as to lay open to "the Eyes of the World the Conspiracy you " have formed against the Public Liberty. And "you especially, Fabius Vibulanus, you that " have been honoured with three Consulates, " will you give occasion for Men to say that " out of complaisance to Tyrants, you betray-

" ed the Interests of your Country?

Fabius, doubtful and confounded, knew not what to answer. But Appius, transported with Rage, cried out to him once more to hold his Peace; and the other Decemvirs threatened to have him thrown down from the Tarpeian Rock as an Incendiary and Disturber of the Public Quiet. A way of Proceeding so violent and so extraordinary in a Body where all were indeed upon a perfect Equality, filled the whole Assembly with Indignation. M. Horatius Barbatus seem'd most provoked at it. He was Grandson of that Horatius Cocles, who in Defence of his Country's Liberty sustained alone upon a Bridge

-

r

-

O

d.

e

a

X-

ıst

et

0-

of

ol-

eal

th

to

ou

nd

nat

cs,

nat

ay-

not

ith

his

to

ock

olic

d fo

eed

em-

atus

nd-

e of

n a

idge

Bridge the shock of Porsenna's whole Army. The same Republican Spirit that had been so great an Honour to the Fathers, descended to their Children. The Horatius we now speak of, not able any longer to bear the Pride and Insolence of the Decemvirs, stood up, and publickly called them the Tarquins and Tyrants of their Country.

"You tell us, fays he, of the War of the " Sabines, as if the Roman People had any E-" nemies greater than your felves. I wou'd gladly know by what Authority you convened this Assembly, and by what Right you " pretend to preside in it. Is not the time of your Magistracy expired? Do you not know " that the Power of the Decemvirate was gi-" ven you but for one Year? We chose you to " establish such Laws as were fit for a free "State to submit to, and you have left no " Footstep of that Equality which was the sole "Defire of the Romans. You have suppressed " the Assemblies of the People, and the Con-" vocations of the Senate. There is now no " talk of Elections, nor of Confuls, nor of Tri-" bunes. All the Annual Magistracies are abo-" lish'd: You have totally subverted the anci-" ent Order of Government, to build upon its "Ruins your own particular Empire and Do-" minion. But know that the Blood of Vale-" rius and Horatius, who formerly drove the "Tarquins out of Rome, yet runs in the Veins " of their Descendants. We have the same " Courage and the same Zeal for the Liberty " of our Country. The Gods, Protectors of " this City, will grant us the same Success; " and I hope the People, no less jealous of their

" Freedom than their Ancestors, will never de-

" fert us in so just a Cause.

A Discourse so resolute quite stunned the Decemvirs. They knew not whether they shou'd shew their Anger or affect Moderation. Appius, to foften the Minds of the Senate, represented that they were so far from being Tyrants, that they had called this Affembly only to take its Advice upon the present State of Affairs. That if he had imposed Silence upon Valerius, it was only to oblige him to conform to the ordinary method, which was, that cvery Man shou'd speak according to his Rank, unless he was particularly applied to by him that presided in the Senate. Then turning to his Uncle C. Claudius, he bid him speak his Mind with all the Freedom that the Affembly cou'd wish for. He flattered himself, that the Interest of his Family, the Ties of Blood, and in some measure the Honour he did him in asking his Opinion first, wou'd induce him to confute what seemed too harsh against him in Horatius's Speech. But he directed himself to a true Roman, and one that wou'd have facrificed his own Children to the Prefervation of the Public Liberty. He had even been very often, as we faid before, at his Nephew's House to endeavour to make him sensible of the Unlawfulness of his Government; but the Servants, by their Master's Direction, had always kept him from his Presence with various Excules, and he had no Opportunity, but in fo Public an Affembly, to tell him his Thoughts fincerely.

That Senator observed first to the Assembly, that two Assairs of different Natures were then to be considered of; a War which was to be carried on Abroad, and remedying the Dissentions which raged at Home with rela-

tion

hc

ćy

on.

re-

y-

ily

of

on

rm

C-

ık,

im

to

his

oly

he

nd

in

to

in

elf

ve

on

ry

ise

n-

er-

ys

X-

fo

its

y,

re

as

he

2-

on

tion to the Government. That what was termed a War, was nothing but some sudden Incursions of a few Parties of the Enemy, who ventured to come near the Frontiers of the State, only upon the Encouragement of the intestine Divisions that split the Republic. That therefore they shou'd first settle Peace and Union in the City, and that then only difplaying the Standards of the Legions wou'd be enough to frighten away the Equi, and the Sabines, over whom the Romans had already so often triumphed. But that he doubted whether the People wou'd range themselves under the Enfigns of the Decemvirs, whom they justly look'd upon as private Men, who had usurped the Sovereign Power, and without either the agreement of the Senate or consent of the People, had by their own private Authority continued themselves in the Government of the State. Then directing his Speech to Appius: " Can you be now to " learn, faid he to him, how very odious fo " unjust an enterprize is to all good Men? "And if you doubt it, the voluntary Exile " to which our most Illustrious Senators have " condemned themselves, does it not sufficiently " shew that they look upon you to be no better "than a Tyrant? The Senate very impatiently " bears that you shou'd rob them of their Autho-" rity; the People demand their right of Appeal " or Opposition, which you have suppress'd; all " our Citizens call, some for their Estates, " which have been made a Prey to your Ruf-" fians, others for their Daughters which you " have taken away to fatisfie your Guilty "Paffions. The whole City, the whole Na-" tion detest a Magistracy, which has destroy-

" ed their Liberty, abolished the use of Co-" mitia, usurped the legal Authority of the " Confuls, and put down the Power of the "Tribunes. Restore to the Commonwealth, " the Power with which she intrusted you, " but for one Year; restore to us our Ancient " Form of Government; restore your selves " to your own Innocence. Call to mind " your former Virtue, and generously quit to-" gether with an unwarrantable Power the Name of a Decemvir, which you have " made so odious. I conjure you to this by " our common Ancestors, by the Manes of " your Father, that Illustrious Citizen, who " left you so noble an Example of Mo-" deration, and of Zeal for the Public Li-"berty. I conjure you above all, by your " own Preservation, and the care of your Life, "which you must unavoidably lose by some " ignominous Punishment, if you obstinately " perfift to hold any longer, the unjust Power which you have usurp'd over your Fellow-« Citizens.

Appius, covered with shame at such just Reproaches, had not Power to answer. His Silence was looked upon as a tacit Confession of his Injustice, and even as an approaching Disposition to abdicate the Decemvirate. But M. Cornelius one of his Colleagues taking upon him to speak, and applying himself directly to Claudius, told him proudly that those who had the Government of the Republic did not stand in need of his Advice to direct their Conduct. That if he thought he had a Right to give particular Counsels to his Nephew, he might go to him at his House; that in the Senate nothing was to be debated but the Affairs

0-

ne

10

h,

u,

nt

es

nd

0-

ne

ve

Dy

of

10

0-

1-

ur

e,

ne

ly

er

V-

c-

i-

on

ng

ut

pli-

ofe

lid

eir

ht

he

e-

irs of

of the Public; and that they were now met upon the Necessity of taking up Arms against Æqui and Sabines, who were advancing towards Rome, and that he might speak his Opinion as to this point, without running wide of the Purpose in Hand by unnecessary digressions Claudius, yet more provoked at the scornful Silence of Appius, than his Colleague's insolent Answer, turning to the Senate: " Since my Ne-" phew, fays he, will not condescend to speak " to me, neither in his own House, nor in " full Senate, and I am so unhappy as to see "the Tyrant of my Country arise out of my " own Family, I declare, Conscript Fathers, " that I am resolved to retire to Regillus. " banish my self from Rome, and make an "Oath never to enter it again but with our "Liberty. However, to fulfill the Obliga-"tion I lie under of giving my Opinion, "with relation to the present Business, I "don't think that any Levy of Troops ought " to be made till Consuls are first chosen to " lead them.

L. Quintius Cincinnatus, T. Quintius Capitolinus and L. Lucretius, all Consular Persons and the Principal Men in the Senate, declared themselves of the same Opinion, and one after another voted for the Abolition of the Decemvirate. M. Cornelius, one of the Decemvirs, apprehending that the Authority of those great Men wou'd draw the rest of the Senate after them, interrupted the Order of gathering the Suffrages, and asked the Opinion of his Brother L. Cornelius, with whom he had before concerted the Speech he shou'd make in Desence of the Decemvirate. That Senator rising up, never went about to justifie

Rific either the Authority or Conduct of the Decemvirs: But taking a more cunning turn he only represented that he thought it wou'd be expedient to defer the Election of new Magistrates, till they had driven the Enemy out of the Territory of Rome. " Have those, said " he, who profecute the Abdication of the Decemvirs with so much Warmth, had any " Promise from the Equi and Sabines, that "they will put a Stop to the Progress of their " Arms, till we have changed the Form of our Government? You know, faid he, "Conscript Fathers, the tedious Delays which " our Elections require: First, there must be " a Senatus-consultum to appoint the Comitia. "That Assembly, whether convened by Cen-" turies or by Tribes, cannot be held till fewen and twenty Days after Notice given. "And before the new Magistrates can be " named, and confirmed by a second Assem-" bly, and have taken Possession of the Go-" vernment of the State, and raised the Troops " necessary to repel the Enemy, who will " warrant us that we shall not see them at " the Gates of Rome, and in a condition to " lay Siege to the City? Shall we go tidicu-" loufly and fay to the Aqui and Sabines, "Gentlemen, pray suspend the Progress of " your Arms; let us be quiet till we have put " an end to our Divisions at Home; the Se-" nate is not yet agreed about the Form of " our Government; but when once the Con-" fulfhip is reftored, when once we have new " Magistrates at the Head of our Armies, you " your selves then may take Branches of Ver-" vain, and come and fue to us humbly for " Peace, unless you will undergo the Fury of ee our

" our Arms? Is such a Discourse sit to be heard in so venerable an Assembly? And

" yet these are the natural Consequences of D H 1.11.

" Claudius's Proposal. Mine is, that our De-

cemvirs immediately inlift the Legions, and march forthwith against the Enemies. Let

se us drive them from our Frontiers; let us force

"them, by the Terror of our Arms, to befeech

" us to grant them Peace; and when we have fecured our felves Abroad, then, Fathers,

" employ your Thoughts upon our Domestic

"Affairs. Revoke by your Authority that of the Decembers, if they will not lay it down

" themselves with a good Grace: Call them

to an Account for their Administration;

" elect new Magistrates in their room, and let the Republic return again to her Ancient

"Constitution. But permit me to tell you,

" that in matter of Government things must

" be done according to the present Conjun-

66 Eture and the necessities of the State.

The Creatures of the Decemvirs declared loudly for this Opinion. The younger Senators, when it came to their turn to speak, agreed to it, out of the heat of their Courage, which made them long to come to an Engagement with the Foc. Some of the oldest Senators were of the same side, in hopes that after the War was sinished, the Abdication of the Decemvirs wou'd follow quietly of course, and so the Government return naturally into the Hands of the Consuls; and that prudent Magistrates by their Moderation might perhaps accustom the People by slow degrees to do without their Tribunes.

Appius, who with pleasure saw that the Majority were of the Opinion of Cornelius, did then

then, only for Form sake, desire that of Valerius, on whom he had imposed Silence at the beginning of the Assembly. " Is it possible, cried that Senator, that we can bear to see " our Tyrants exercise their Dominion thus " in the Senate, and in the very Sanctuary " of Liberty? My Mouth was stopt when my " speaking cou'd have been of any Service, " and now I am allowed to declare my Mind when the Votes are already gathered, when " the Majority has declared for the Opinion co of Cornelius, and when all further Remon-66 strances are hardly to any manner of purco pose. However, I will not betray my Conc science and the Interests of my Country. " I will speak what I think of the continuance of the Power which the Decemvirs " have usurp'd, and I will do it with the Cou-" rage and Freedom of a true Roman.

"I declare first that I heartily subscribe to " all that C. Claudius has fo wifely represent-" ed to you, with relation to the Necessity "there is of creating new Magistrates before we take the Field. But fince L. Cornelius, " the avowed Defender of Tyranny, has en-" deavoured to turn so judicious a Counsel " into Ridicule, upon pretence that the De-" lays requisite in the Election of those Ma-" gistrates wou'd waste the Time that shou'd " be employed in repelling the Enemy, I "think my felf obliged to shew you the Weakness of this false reasoning. To con-" vince you of it, do but call to mind the " measures which the Republic took about "ten Years since, against the same Enemies, " in the Consulate of C. Nautius and L. Mice nutius.

« You

"

"

"

You know, that while Nautius was fighting against the Sabines; Minutius, his Col-" league, suffered himself to be shut up by the " Equi, in the narrow passages of some "Mountains. There was a necessity to raise " a new Army to relieve them; the Tribunes " as usual opposed raising any Troops, unless " the Senate wou'd admit the Law concern-" ing the Partition of the Lands. In this " perplexity, as neither Party wou'd abate any "thing of its Pretensions, recourse was had 66 to a Dictator, whose Authority was supe-" rior both to the Senate and the Tribunes of "the People. L. Quintius was chosen; he " was fent for out of the Country; he re-"turned to Rome; he raised a new Army, " and in a Fortnight's time disengaged that " of Minucius, and triumphed over the Ene-" my. What hinders now but that we shou'd " follow fo wife and fo recent an Example? "Let us chuse an Inter-rex, as we shou'd do " if the two Confuls were dead. Let him " name a Dictator; you will then have a " lawful Magistrate; all this may be done " in less than a Day. He will raise Troops " by the Sovereign Power belonging to his " Dignity; we shall march against our Enemies " out of hand; and at our return from the " Campaign, that Magistrate, whose Power " cannot last more than fix Months, will by " his Abdication give us time to proceed at " leifure, and according to the usual Forms " upon the Election of Consuls. If on the " contrary you intrust the Command of your "Armies to the Decemvirs, do you imagine those ambitious Men who have usurped a "Tyrannical Power, and in spite of all our

The History of the Revolutions

"Laws refuse so obstinately to deliver up the "Fasces, will easily be brought to lay down

" their Arms? Believe rather they will turn

"them against your selves, and make use of them to perpetuate their Tyranny. I de-

"mand therefore, in the extream danger which

" the Public Liberty is now in, that the Pro-

" posal I make to name a Dictator be exa" mined, and the Opinions and Votes of the

"Senate gathered whether it shall be done or

66 no.

Such of the Senators as abhorred or feared the Power of the Decemvirs, declared themfelves of this Opinion. But the Favourers of the Decemvirs cried out, that the Command of the Armies had already been affigned to the Decemvirs by plurality of Voices; that it was an Affair decided, and that Valerius's Opposition ought to be looked upon only as one Voice the less in Favour of the Decemvirs. Appius in confirmation of this Argument added, that the Affembly was called only to give order about the War, which the Equi and Sabines made upon the Republic. That C. Claudius, Cornelius and Valerius had proposed different Opinions; but that of Cornelius having prevailed with the Majority, he ordered the Secretary to draw up the Senatusconsultum out of hand, committing to the Decemvirs the Care of this War, and the Command of the Armies. Then turning to Valerius, he told him with a contemptuous Smile, that if ever he attained to the Consulship, he might then have an Affair already decided revised over again. Decemvirs arose after having signed the Senatusconsultum, and went out of the Senate, followed by their Adherents, who congratulated them

cl

in

fu

ole

tiz

of

to

try

piu

flag

boi

Cit

them upon the Advantage they had just gained

over the opposite Party.

e

S

t

25

5,

nt

2-

eof

of

es.

a

ed

If-

he

na-

ol-

tcd

em

The Command of the Armies now alotted them confirmed their Authority, and made it yet more formidable. They employed it to revenge themselves of their particular Enemies, and they reckoned as fuch all those that did not submit to be their Slaves. Every Body in secret bewailed the loss of their Liberty. L. Valerius and M. Horatius, who wou'd be wanting neither to the Republic nor themselves, gathered together in their Houses a great number of their Friends and Clients to secure them against the violence of the Decemvirs; and they never appeared in the City without a powerful Attendance strong enough to repel the Infult they had reason to expect. The Commonwealth was split into two Parties; of one fide was a Noble Zeal for Liberty, and an inviolable adherence to the Laws; of the other was an immoderate Thirst of Dominion, supported by the Magistracy and the appearances of a legal Authority. The Animosity which raged in these two Parties gave Cause to dread a Civil War. C. Claudius, Uncle to the Decemvir of that Name, for fear of being engaged in it, left Rome, as he had declared in full Senate he wou'd do, and retired to Regillus his old Country. Other Senators and the Principal Citizens of Rome, who could not endure the Tyranny of the Decemvirs, and yet found themselves unable to destroy it, sought an Asylum in the Country or among the neighbouring Nations. Appius enraged at this retirement, which was to flagrant a proof of the Aversion which was born to his Government, placed Guards at the City Gates: But finding this Precaution only Y 2 encreased

encreased the Number of the Malcontents, he removed that Guard; and to be revenged of those that withdrew, he confiscated the Effects they had in Rome; with which he paid

and rewarded his Ruffians.

A Conduct fo violent opened the Eyes of the People, as well as of the Senate. faw with Indignation, that instead of wife Legislators, they had establish'd no better than so many Tyrants. The People, jealous of the Senate's Authority, had at first with pleasure beheld a new Power arising upon the Ruins of the Consulship, which allowed the Senators no share in the Government. Senate on their parts did not oppose the Establishment of a Tribunal, which delivered them from the feditious Harangues of the Tribunes of the People: And thus both the Orders of the Commonwealth had mutually facrificed their particular Magistrates to each other. The Decemvirs, in whose Hands Authority was deposited, took Advantage of this Folly: Their aim was to perpetuate themfelves in the Government. And having now got the Command of the Armies, they deipised Malcontents whom they no longer feared. The People, destitute of their Tribunes, were forced to list themselves. The Legions were foon compleated: They were divided into three Bodies. Q. Fabius Vibulanus march'd against the Sabines at the Head of one Army, and Q. Petilius and M. Rabuleius were appointed for his Colleagues and his Council. M. Cornelius was named General of the Troops that were to be fent against the Æqui, and with him went L. Minucius, M. Sergius, T. Antonius, and C. Duellius, all Decemvirs. their

C

re

di

til

th

Ro

the

Vi

no

ill

the

the

lic

the

had

Year of Rome 304.

their Head staid at Rome with Oppius, and kept with him a Body of Troops which he placed as a Garrison in the Capitol, to maintain his Authority against the Enemy at Home, who was much more formidable than that Abroad. Thus mere private Men under the Title of Decemvirs got Possession of all the Forces of the State, which under their Dominion retained nothing but the bare Name of a Commonwealth.

The People who composed the Legions, that is to fay, the Centurions and the Soldiers, exasperated at the Loss of their Liberty, wou'd not Conquer, for fear of encreasing the Power of the Decemvirs by getting them Victory. The two Armies were defeated almost without Fighting. They were not fo properly Battels as concerted Flights. The Army that was appointed against the Æqui lost their Arms and Baggage; that which was to fight the Sabines abandoned their Camp and made a hasty retreat to the Territory of Rome. The Soldiers dispersed different ways, and never rallied till they were out of fight of the Enemy; and the News of these Defeats was received at Rome with the same Joy that wou'd at another time have been shewn for a compleat Victory.

It was openly faid in the City, that 'twas no wonder the Armies of the Republic had ill Success under Leaders that had usurped the Command. Some called for Consuls; others proposed to chuse a Dictator as in a public Calamity, and the People languished for

the Restoration of their Tribunes.

r

V

1.

e

e

e

ſŧ

d

d

r-

at

:h

0-

us

ir

Siccius Dentatus, the renowned Plebeian, that had been in a hundred and twenty Engage-Y 2 ments. ments, filled the Ears of the Multitude with nothing but the Faults which he pretended the Decemvirs had committed in the Management of this War. His Opinion, and his Contempt of those Generals, spread over both the Armies. Scarce wou'd the Soldiers fo much as give heed to their Orders. Some demanded Provisions, others Arms; and a general Difcontent feemed to foreshew an approaching Revolt.

Appius, who took care to provide against all Events, sends Recruits, and Provisions to his Colleagues. He exhorts them to keep the Soldiers in awe by the terror of Punishment; but that if those Methods seemed dangerous in the present Conjuncture, they wou'd not want opportunities in that Campaign to destroy the more mutinous by private means. He himself fet them an Example: Siccius was odious to him upon account of the Freedom of his Talk, and the Power he had gained over the Minds of the People; he resolved to rid himself of him. To draw him out of Rome, he confulted him upon the Operations of the Campaign. He difcoursed with him several times; and after having bestow'd great Praises upon the Advice he gave him, he engaged him, tho' a Veteran, to go to the Army that was fighting with the Sabines, pretending that he shou'd affist the General with his Counsels. And the sooner to induce him to make the Campaign, he invested him with the Title of Envoy or Legate: a Function which among the Romans, according to Dionyfius Halicarnasseus, was fa-

D. H. l. 11. cred and inviolable, and which united the Sanctity of the Priesthood to the Power of the

chief Magistrates.

Siccius

d

-

IS

d

[-

g

11

1-

i-

ıt

e

nt

ne

lf

m

nd

of

n.

m

f-

V-

ne

to

ne

ne

er

n-

e-

259

a-

he

h¢

159

Siccius, free from distrust, and with the Sincerity of a brave Soldier, gladly embraces an opportunity of serving his Country. He repairs to the Camp with all speed. The Decemvirs, instructed by Appius, receive him with outward Marks of Joy, and treat him with Distinction. Nothing is undertaken without his Advice; but this feeming Deference only conceal'd a private defign of making away with An occasion soon offered. Siccius, with his accustomed Freedom, having plainly told the Decemvirs, he did not think they were Id. ibid. Encamped to advantageously as they might be, they commissioned him to mark out a new Camp as he thought proper, and gave him a Guard to go and view the Situation of the Country. But this Guard confifted only of the Decemvirs Ruffians, who had fecret Orders to dispatch him. Siccius having led them into the narrow Passages of some Mountains, they took that Opportunity to fall upon him. Siccius no sooner perceiv'd their base Design, but setting his Back against a Rock, that he might not be attacked behind, he received them with a Courage that struck a Terror into the boldest of them. That generous Roman, calling up all his Ancient Valour, flew fifteen of them and wounded above thirty: Not one of them now durst venture near him: They stood at a distance and flung their Darts at him. But as even this wou'd not effect their purpole, the Villains climbed up to the top of the Rock, and thence knocked him on the Head with Stones. And thus this brave Soldier, that had returned victorious from fo many Battels, at last fell basely by the Hands of Traytors hired Y 4 by

C. 44.

Livy 1. 3. by the Decemvirs. They then went back to the Camp, and gave out that they fell into an Ambush, by which they had lost their Captain and part of their Comrades. At first they were believed; but a Band of Soldiers, that looked upon Siccius as their Father, going of their own accord to fetch his Corpse, in order to pay their last Duties to it, perceived that the slain were all Romans; that they were all fallen with their Faces towards him; that they were strip'd neither of their Arms nor Cloaths; and besides, that there was not one Man of the Enemy among them, nor the least Footsteps to be discovered of their Retreat. All these Circumstances laid together, made them suspect that Siccius had been murdered by his Guard. This Suspicion ran all thro' the Camp, and raised loud Complaints and a general Discontent. The whole Army demanded, with the greatest Fury, that the Assassins shou'd be brought to Justice. But the Decemvirs caused them to make their Escape; and to stifle all thoughts that they themselves cou'd have any hand in so horrid an Action, they gave Siccius a military Funeral no less honourable than if he had commanded the Army in chief. These Honours so extraordinary for a Plebeian, whom every Body knew they hated, fully convinced the Soldiers that Siccius was not murdered without their Knowledge. The Difcontent of this Army quickly spread to the other Camp, and even to Rome. The Citizens and the Soldiers, the Senate and the People, publickly cried out against so infamous a Deed. All were ready to shake off the Yoke of so bloody a Rule, when Appius by a new attempt, ftill more odious and tyrannical, filled up the measure

measure of his Tyrannies, and of the Aversion which all the Orders of the State had for him.

d

n

,

d

We have already faid, that by agreement with his Colleagues he staid at Rome at the Head of a Body of Troops to keep the Inhabitants in Obedience to the Decemvirate. That Decemvir, who had brought into his own fingle Person the Authority of all the Magistrates, used to administer Justice in the Forum. As he was one Day in his Tribunal, he saw passing by a young Woman of wonderful Beauty, of about fifteen Years of Age, going with her Nurse to the public Schools: Her Charms, and the blooming Graces of Youth, immediately drew his attention. He cou'd not help beholding her with a secret Pleafure: His Curiofity encreased the next Day; he thought her more lovely than before. And as the young Creature went every Day thro' the Forum, he by degrees conceived a violent Passion for her, which in the end proved equally fatal to himself and her too. He had taken care, the very first Day he saw her, to enquire out her Name and Family. He was informed that she was by Birth a Plebeian; that her Name was Virginia; that she had lost her Mother, who was called Numitoria; that her Father Virginius then ferved as Centurion in the Army of F. Vibulanus the Decemvir, and that Virginius had promised his Daughter to Icilius who had been Tribune of the People, and who was to marry her at the end of the Campaign.

This Account, so perplexing for Appius's Love, only served to encrease it. He wou'd readily have married Virginia himself; but besides that he had a Wise already, he had not forgot that the last Laws of the twelve Tables, of which

he

p. 710.

C. 13.

he was the chief Framer, prohibited all Alliances between Patricians and Plebeians; and he had no room to hope for the accomplishment of his guilty Wishes, but by the scandalous

means of debauching the young Lady.

The Innocence and Modesty of Virginia hindered him from opening his dishonest purpose directly to her felf. He thought it more proper to begin the work by means of one of those Women of Intrigue, who make a private Market of the Beauty and Charms of Youth. He D.H. L'11 loaded her with Favours, and after having let her into his Desires, he ordered her not to Livy l. 3. name him, and to speak of him no otherwise than as a Man of one of the best Families in the City, and that had an absolute Authority in the Commonwealth. This Woman, by his Directions, applied her self to Virginia's Nurse. She made an Acquaintance with her, tried to infinuate her self into her Confidence, and after great Preparations back'd with noble Prefents, and Promifes yet more glorious, the wicked Wretch discovered to her the Subject of her But the Nurse, equally prudent Commission. and faithful, rejected with Horror both her Gifts and her Proposals. Appius learn'd with Grief that it was equally impossible either to deceive or corrupt her. That Magistrate, furious and obstinate in his Passions, was however

> He intrusted the chief part to a Client of his named M. Claudius, a Man without Shame or Fear, and one of those that introduce themselves to the Ear of the Great, only by a base

ly in his Power.

not disheartened: He had recourse to another Artifice, and laid a most detestable Scheme, which if it fucceeded wou'd put Virginia whol-

com-

ne

nt

us

1-

ſe

0-

ſe

r-

[e

et

0

[e

n

y

0

=

ľ

t

complaifance for their Pleasures. This Minister of the Decemvir's Passion entered the public School where Virginia was, took her by the Hand, and was dragging her by force to his own House, pretending she was the Daughter of one of his Slaves; and it was the Custom that the Children of Slaves were Slaves themfelves to the Masters of their Father and Mo-The young Lady, overwhelmed with Confusion, defended her self only by her Tears; but the People moved at the Cries of her Nurse ran to her Affistance, and hindered Claudius from carrying her away. The impudent Villain immediately implored the Affiftance of the Laws; he faid, he did not mean to use any Violence; but that he thought a Master might seize his Slave where-ever he found her, and called those who opposed the Justice of his Pretensions to appear with him immediately before the Decemvir; and with this he led the young Virginia to his Tribunal. All the People follow'd him, some out of Curiosity to see the issue of so strange a business, and others out of Affection to Icilius, who during his Tribunate had made himself very agreeable to the Multitude. mitorius, Virginia's Uncle, presently hasted to her Affistance, together with him to whom she was betrothed. Claudius laid open his Claim before a Judge that was himself the Author of the Villany. He faid, the Girl was born in his House; that she was privately stolen away by a Slave that was her Mother, and who to conceal her Theft, had pretended to be delivered of a dead Child: But that it had fince been discovered that she had fold this Girl to Virginius's Wife who was barren, and who being uneafie at having no Child, had made her pass for her Daughter:

ter: That he was ready to produce undeniable Testimonies of what he advanced; but that in the mean while, till the Contest was decided, it was but just that a Slave shou'd go with her Master, and that he wou'd give good Security for her appearance again, if Virginius, at his Return, still pretended to be her real Father.

Virginia's Nurse had given private Intimation to her Uncle, that Claudius only acted a borrowed part, and that this Blow came from a more powerful Hand. Numitorius, hiding his Suspicions, represented to the Decemvir with a great deal of calmness, that his Neice's Father was absent in the Service of his Country; that it was very unjust to dispute a Citizen's Right to his very Children, when he was not present to affert it; that he asked a delay but of two Days to fetch him from the Army; that till his Return he wou'd keep Virginia in his own House. That this care belong'd to him as being her Uncle; that he wou'd give any Security whatsoever for producing her again; but that it was not reasonable to trust the Daughter of Virginius in the House of fuch a one as Claudius, where her Honour wou'd be more in Danger even than her Liberty. He added, that what he demanded was conformable to the Laws, which ordained, that in a Law-fuit, before a definitive Sentence, the Plaintiff shou'd not disturb the Defendant in his Possession.

The whole Assembly approved the Justice of this Request. Appius having caused Silence to be proclaimed, and affecting the Equity and Impartiality of a just Judge, declared that he shou'd always be the Protector of so reasonable

a Law, which he himself had inserted in the twelve Tables. But that in the present Dispute, there were some particular Circumstances which altered the Case; that the Father alone cou'd claim Possession of her he pretended to be his Daughter, and that if he were present he wou'd allow him the provisional keeping of her; but that a Brother-in-Law had not the same Privilege in his absence. That he was indeed willing to grant whatever time was necessary to send for Virginius from the Army, but that delay shou'd not be in prejudice of a Master that laid claim to his Slave; and that therefore he decreed that Claudius shou'd take Virginia to his House, giving good Security to produce her again at the return of him who was called her Father.

The whole Affembly exclaimed against the Injustice of this Decree: Nothing was to be heard but Murmurs and Complaints. The Women especially with Tears in their Eyes gathered round Virginia, and placed her in the midst of them, as if they meant to defend her. But Claudius, without any regard to their Shrieks or Intreaties, went to force her away; when Icilius, to whom she was promised, came into the Forum with Rage and Fury in his Eyes. Appius, who was fearful of his Credit with the People, ordered a Lictor to bid him withdraw, and to tell him that the Affair was already judged. But Icilius, whose Passion made him regardless of Danger, being informed of Appius's base Designs, and looking upon him as a hated Rival: "Thou shalt tear my Life from me, " cried he to him, before thou shalt enjoy the "Fruit of thy vile Artifices and insupportable "Tyranny. Is it not enough that thou hast " deprived

" deprived us of the two strongest Bulwarks " of our Liberty, the Protection of our Tri-" bunes, and our right of Appeal to the As-" sembly of the People? Cannot the Honour " of the Roman Maids be fafe from thee? "Thou can't not be to learn that Virginia is " betrothed to me. I expect to marry a Vir-" gin and one Free-born; I will receive her " from no Man's Hands but her Father's. If " in his absence any Attempt is made to do " her Violence, I will implore the aid of the " Roman People for my Wife; Virginius will " demand the affiftance of all his Fellow-Sol-" diers for his Daughter; and both Gods " and Men will be of our fide. But tho' I " had not a Man to affift me, Justice and " virtuous Love will give me fufficient Power " to prevent the Execution of thy Unjust Sen-" tence.

The People, equally moved with his Misfortune and his Courage, drive back Claudius, who takes refuge at Appius's Feet. The Affembly was full of Disorder and Agitation. The Tumult encreased by the Arrival of those that flocked to the Forum from all parts of the City. The Decemvir fearing an open Revolt, thought fit to suspend the Execution of his Decree; and having caused Silence to be made: "It is well known, faid he, Icilius only wants " an Opportunity of restoring the Tribuneship " by means of a Sedition. But to remove all " pretence of complaint, I am willing to wait " for Virginius's return till to Morrow. Let " his Friends take care to give him Notice. "It is not above four Hours Journey from " hence to the Camp. I will prevail upon " Claudius to yield up somewhat of his Right 66 for

" for the fake of the Public Peace, and to let the Girl remain at Liberty till the return of the Man she imagines to be her Fa-

66 ther

?

e

,

S

1

t

t

1

n

t

Claudius, feigning to admit, tho' unwillingly, of this delay, requested at least that Icilius might give Security for producing Virginia on the Morrow. The People all round immediately lifted up their Hands, and every Man offered eagerly to be his Security. Icilius touched with the affection of his Fellow-Citizens, after having returned them thanks: "We will make use of your affistance to Morrow, faid he, if Claudius does not desist from his unjust Pretensions. But for to Day, I hope they will be satisfied with my Security and that of all Virginia's Relations.

Appius, tho' quite blinded by his Paffion, durst not refuse such Security: But dreading Virginius's return, he privately dispatched a Messenger to his Colleagues who commanded the Army, begging them to arrest Virginius upon some Pretence or other; or at least not to give him leave in any wife to return to Rome. He thought that he not appearing at the time appointed, he might then with a good Colour deliver up his Daughter into Claudius's Hands: But his Courier came too late. Numitorius's Son, and a Brother of Icilius, had been beforehand with him, and had already given Virginius an Account of his Daughter's danger; and that Roman, finding her Preservation depended upon his return to Rome, had obtained leave and was departed before the Ar-The Decemvirs rival of Appius's Messenger. had no fooner received his Letter, but they dispatch'd some Horsemen after him to stop him. him. Appius had placed some too with the same design in the Road that led from the City to the Camp: But all these Precautions were inessectual. Virginius, who foresaw them, went out of the common way, and came into Rome at a Gate directly contrary to that which

went to the Roman Army.

He appeared next Day in the Forum pierced to the Heart with Grief, and leading in his Hand his Daughter all drowned in Tears. She was accompanied by her Kinfwomen, who asked the People in the most melting terms, whether it was fit that while so good a Citizen ventured his Life for the defence of his Country, his Children shou'd be exposed to more barbarous Infults than if the City were fallen into the Hands of the Enemy. Virgiwius used almost the same Expressions to all he met, and conjured them to take his Daughter into their Protection. Icilius, quite furious with Love and Resentment, inveighed loudly against Appius's Lust. But the Tears of Virginia, her Youth, her Innocence, her Beauty moved the Multitude more than all the complaints and intreaties of her Family.

Appius heard not without extream surprise, that Virginius was in the Forum, with his Friends and his whole Family. His return broke all his measures; and he scared with the aid of the People he wou'd forcibly oppose the Execution of the Decree he had resolv'd upon. To secure himself against all Resistance, he ordered down from the Capitol the Troops that were lodged there under his Command, and they took Possession of the Forum. He then repaired thither himself, and having seated himself in his Tribunal with that Emotion which

D. H. l. 11

C

e

15

1,

0

h

d

is

ne

10

S,

1-

is

to

re

in

ne

er

th

st

er

ne

 \mathbf{n}

e,

118

rn

he

ofe

'd

e,

ps

d,

Ic

t-

on

ch

which his Impatience to compleat his Crime raised in him, he said he was not unacquainted with the methods Icilius had used to inflame the People; but that he wou'd have them know he wanted neither Power nor Resolution to chastize those that shou'd dare to disturb the Public Peace: And thereupon he commanded Claudius to offer his Demand and proceed in his Action. Claudius then faid, that no Body was to learn that the Children of Slaves belong'd to their Masters; that as fuch he challenged Virginia. He at the same time produced the Slave whom he had feduced, and who, out of fear of her Master, declared that she had sold Virginia to Virginius's Wife. Claudius added, that he did not want for other Witnesses if there were occasion, and that he had hopes from the Decemvir's Justice, that he wou'd not fuffer himself to be moved by the Clamours and Threats of Icilius's Adherents, nor to be worked upon by the Tears of a young Creature, whose Fate he must own deserved Compassion; but who being born in Servitude, ought to return to it, tho' she had been educated like a free Perfon.

The Friends and Relations of Virginius, to destroy these Impostures, represented, that his Wise had had several Children, and that is upon her losing them she had been minded to introduce a Stranger into her Family, she wou'd never have taken the Child of a Slave, and certainly not a Girl, when she might as easily have chosen a Boy. That her Kinsfolks and Neighbours had seen her big of this Daughter; that the Child when it came into the World was received in the Hands of her Relations.

Relations. That it was notorious her Mother Numitoria did her self give Suck to young Virginia; which she cou'd not have done had she been Barren, as Claudius falsely alledged. That it was strange that Impostor shou'd be so profoundly silent in such an Affair for so many Years, and shou'd never declare his Pretensions till the young Woman was grown up to that rare Beauty which was the Cause of the Persecution she then suffered.

Appius fearing this Argument wou'd make too great an Impression upon the Multitude, interrupted him, pretending he had fomething to fay himself; and addressing his Speech to the Assembly, "Virginia's Friends, said he, must " not pretend to take advantage of Claudius's 66 long forbearance. For my Conscience obliges " me to declare, that I my felf have a long " while fince known of this Cheat. Every 66 Body knows that Claudius's Father, at his C Death, left me Guardian of his Son. Soon " afterwards I was told, that as fuch I ought " to reclaim this young Slave as part of the "Succession of my Charge and my Client, and I then heard the same Witnesses as have " given Testimony this Day. It is true, our "Domestic Feuds, and the hurry of public Bu-66 finess, hindered me then from taking due care of that of a private Person, but the Post "I am now in will not allow me to refuse him " the Justice which I owe to every Man: there-" fore I decree that the Plaintiff take home this " Girl as his Slave.

Virginius, provoked to the highest pitch at so unjust a Sentence, no longer kept any measures with the Decemvir. He made known to the whole Assembly, that he himself was the Con-

triver

triver of the Imposture, which his Client acted; and addressing his Speech to him; "Know,

" Appius, said he, I did not educate my Daughter to prostitute her to thy infamous Plea-

" fures; I gave her to Icilius, and not to thee: Cou'dst thou imagine the Romans wou'd suf-

"fer their Wives and Daughters to be taken Livy Dec. from them to satisfy the lewd Passion of a 1. 1. 3.

" Tyrant?

n

nt

ne

t,

ve

ur

u-

ue

oft

im

rehis

fo

rcs

the

on-

ver

The Multitude, at hearing this, raised a thoufand Clamours full of Indignation. Appius, almost mad to see his Crime discovered, commanded the Soldiers that surrounded his Tribunal to drive away the People. "And you, "faid he, turning to one of his Lictors, force "a passage thro' the Crowd, and make way for

" a Master to lay hold of his Slave.

The People, who always fear those that do not fear them, finding themselves attack'd by Appins's Soldiers, disperse, retire, and as it were deliver up Virginius's Daughter to the Decemvir's Passion. Then that unhappy Father, who sees with Despair that Innocence is going to be oppressed with an unjust Power, desires of the Magistrate, that before Claudius carries away his Daughter he may at least be allowed to talk a Moment to her in private with her Nurse; "To the intent, said he, that if I can disco-" ver some Token that I am not her Father, I may return to the Camp with less Grief and

"Concern.

Appius readily granted him this Request, upon condition however that it shou'd be in Clau-

dius's fight, and without stirring out of the Forum. Virginius, pierced to the Heart with the sharpest Affliction, takes his Daughter, half dead, in his Arms; he wipes away the Tears in which

Z 2 he

her Face was all bathed, embraces her, and drawing her near to some Shops which were on the fide of the Forum, Chance directed him to a Butcher's Knife; he takes it, and speaking to Virginia, "My dear Child, said he, this is the " only way to fave thy Honour and thy Liber-"ty: With these words he plunges the Knife into her Heart, and drawing it out again all smoaking with the Blood of his Daughter: "It " is with this innocent Blood, cried he to Ap-" pius, that I devote thy Head to the infernal Gods." What People were left in the Forum run to this dismal fight, utter loud shrieks, and detest the Decemvir's Tyranny, which has reduced a Father to fo cruel a Necessity. Appius, from his Tribunal, calls out in the greatest fury that they shou'd seize Virginius. But he opens himself a passage with the Knife which he had in his Hand; and being favoured by the Multitude, gets to the City Gate, and went directly to the Camp with part of his Friends and Relations, who wou'd not leave him in fo great a Misfortune.

Numitorius and Icilius stay by the Body of Virginia, shew it to the Eyes of the Multitude, and beseech them not to let her Death go unrevenged. Crowds flock to the Forum from all parts of the City. Valerius and Horatius, who had so undauntedly opposed the continuation of the Decemvirate, come thither some of the first, with a great number of young Patricians of their Party. Appius, searing their Credit and Eloquence, sends them Orders to withdraw, and at the same time commands the Body of Virginia to be removed from the Forum. But Valerius and Horatius oppose it. Appius, exasperated with the Death of Virginia, and the Con-

tempt

tempt which was shewn of his Orders, advances with his Lictors and Troops to seize those two Senators. But the People, urged to sury, drive him back, break the Fasces to pieces, pursue him himself as a Tyrant, so that to save his Life he was constrained to sly with his Face covered, and to hide himself in a neighbouring House.

Valerius and Horatius place the Corpse of the unfortunate Virginia in an open Litter, and under pretence of carrying it back to her Father's House till the last Duties cou'd be paid to it, they shew it thro' the high Streets to stir up the Resentment of all the Citizens. Men and D.H. l. 11: Women all run out of their Houses to see this Funeral Pomp; the Men throw Perfumes into the Litter; the Women and Maids, with Tears in their Eyes, put Garlands of Flowers on it. All bewail her Fate, and by those mournful Prefents feemed to make a Vow to revenge her Death. The whole City wou'd have risen that moment, had not Valerius and Horatius, who managed this business, thought it more convenient, before they broke out, to see what Virginius's Return wou'd produce in the Army of Algidum.

He entered the Camp, attended, as we faid before, by part of his Friends, and holding still in his Hand the bloody Knife with which he had killed his Daughter. The Soldiers, having heard of his Misfortune, run about him from all sides; Virginius gets upon a small Eminence from whence he might the more easily be heard: His Face was drowned with Tears, and Grief for some time tyed his Tongue. At length breaking this mournful Silence, and raising his Hands to Heaven, "I call you to Witness, "immor-

"immortal Gods, said he, that Appius alone is guilty of the Crime I have been forced to commit. He then related, with Tears, the Plot which the Decemvir had laid to get his Daughter; and addressing himself to the Soldiers, who heard him with great Compassion: I conjure you, my Fellow-Soldiers, said he,

D. H.l. 11. " do not drive me out of your Company as the

"Murderer of my Daughter. I wou'd with all my Heart have facrificed my own Life to have preserved hers, if she cou'd have lived with

"her Honour and her Liberty. But finding

"the Tyrant only meant to make her a Slave that he might have an opportunity to Disho-

" nour her, Pity alone made me cruel: I ra-"ther chose to lose my Daughter than keep

"her with Shame; but I wou'd not have out-

" lived her one moment, had I not hoped to

" revenge her Death by your Affistance."

All the Soldiers, detefting so base an Action, assure him they will not fail him if he undertook any thing against Appius. But their Centurions and the chief Leaders of Bands resolved to extend their Resentment to all the Decemvirs, and to shake off the Yoke of a Dominion that was not lawful, and now grew into open

Tyranny.

The Decemvirs that commanded the Army being inform'd of Virginius's Return, and of the Disposition of the People, sent for him with design to secure him. But his Friends hindered him from obeying their Orders, and the Soldiers being gathered together in Parties, their Officers made them solively a Representation of the Horror of Appius's Attempt, that the Soldier wanted nothing but to return to Rome to destroy the Decemvirs. Nothing but the Military

litary Oath with-held them, and they thought they cou'd not leave their Enfigns and their Generals without offending the Gods, and dishonouring themselves. But Virginius, who burnt with Impatience to revenge himself of Appius, Ibid. 1. 15 removed that Scruple, by affuring them that their Oath bound them only to Generals invested with a lawful Authority; and that the first Obligation which a Roman lay under at his Birth, was to facrifice his Life in defence of the public Liberty. There needed no more to fatisfy the Conscience of those Soldiers. They immediately flew in a kind of fury to their Arms, took up their Enfigns, and under the particular Conduct of their Centurions, took the way to Rome. The Decemvirs, surprised at so general a Desertion, ran to stop them. But whereever they turned themselves, they found none but exasperated Spirits who breathed nothing but Vengeance. They reproached them with their Pride, their Avarice, the Deaths of Siccius and Virginia, and with Appius's Lust, yet more intolerable than their Cruelty. The Soldier sternly tells them he is born free, and that he is going to Rome only to restore Liberty to his Fellow-Citizens.

The Army entered Rome about Evening, without making any disturbance, and without so much as a Soldier's stirring out of his Rank. They contented themselves, as they pass'd by, with assuring their Friends and Relations that they were returned only to destroy Tyranny. All the Troops march'd quietly thro' the City to Mount Aventine, and were resolved not to separate till they had obtained the deposal of the Decemvirs, and the Restoration of the Tribuneship.

buneship.

d

ir

of

1-

Z 4

Appius

The History of the Revolutions

Appius, terrified with remorfe of Conscience, and with this Revolt of the Army, durst not appear in public. But Oppius his Colleague, who dreaded the Confequences of this Tumult, had then recourse to the Authority of the Senate; and contrary to the Custom of the Decemvirs, he convened it extraordinarily. Most of the Senators were not forry for a Commotion which might help to re-establish the Government upon its ancient Foundations. However as it was of dangerous consequence to let the People fee that it was in their Power to do themselves Justice, and in order to keep the Supreme Authority still in the Senate, they sent to Mount Aventine Sp. Tarpeius, C. Julius, and P. Sulpicius, all three Consulars, who demanded of those Soldiers severely, by whose Command they had left their Camp and their Generals.

Those Soldiers, perplexed with this Question, remained for some time in silence. At length they broke it, and cried out all together that Valerius and Horatius shou'd be sent to them, and that they wou'd give them a true account of their Conduct. Those two Senators were the Men chosen, because the Multitude look'd upon them as the declared Enemies of the Decemvirs, and the most zealous Defenders of Liberty.

While the three Consulars returned to the Senate, to give an account of this Answer of the Soldiers, Virginius put them in mind that it was necessary they shou'd chuse some of their Centurions to enter into Negociation with the Commissioners they had demanded. He himself was immediately named the first; but he excused himself from accepting of that Commission, by

reason

n

fo

e

TO

fc

ne

fo

m

th

fir

ed

cf

Jo.

ce

reason of the violent Sorrow with which he was oppressed, and which did not leave him sufficient liberty of Mind to maintain the public Interests. The Army, upon his resusal, appointed ten other Centurions, and to do Honour to their choice, they gave those Officers the Title

of military Tribunes.

The Army sent against the Sabines followed the Example of that of Algidum. Numitorius and Icilius had been there, and raised the same Tumult among them. All the Soldiers, having also first chosen Leaders to command them, marched Colours flying strait to Rome and joined the other Army. Tho' the Senate was not forry to fee the Authority of the Decemvirs abolish'd, yet besides that such a Desertion was of dangerous Example, the Frontiers was left exposed to the usual Incursions of the Enemies. Therefore Valerius and Horatius were haftened to Mount Aventine to bring the Soldiers back to their Duty. But those two Senators, who found their Mediation was become absolutely necessary, declared they wou'd not move a step fo long as the Decemvirs, whom they called Usurpers, remained Masters of the Government.

Those Magistrates on the contrary alledged, that they cou'd not lay down their Dignity till they had published and passed the two last Tables of Laws which were to be added to the first Ten, and that that was the only Term fixed for the expiration of their Magistracy by the establishment which the Senate and People conjointly had made of it the preceding Year. L. Cornelius, yet a warm Stickler for the Decemvirate, even advised that no Negotiation shou'd be entered into with the two Armies, till

camp, and that upon those Conditions the Soldiers shou'd be offered a General Pardon, out of which however the Authors of the Desertion

shou'd be excepted.

But an Advice so imperious, and so very improper in the present disposition of the Peoples Minds, was back'd by no Body. On the contrary, the Decemvirs were made sensible that they must absolutely renounce an Authority which was expired, and which the Senate and People were resolved not to continue them in. The Soldiers in fury threatened even to constrain them to it by force; and they went over to the Mons Sacer, as to a Place where their Ancestors had laid the first Foundations of the People's Liberty. Every thing at Rome was in that Commotion which usually precedes the greatest Revolutions. At length the Decemvirs, quite born down by the multitude of their Enemies, promised in full Senate to depose themselves; they only defired that they might not be facrificed to the Hatred of their Enemies, and represented that it concern'd the Senate not to accustom the People to shed the Blood of

Valerius and Horatius having brought this Affair to the point they wanted, repaired to the Army; they were received there as its Protectors. The People demanded only the Restoration of their Tribunes, their Privilege of Appeal, and an Amnisty for all that had left their Camp without permission from their Generals. But first of all they obstinately insisted that the Decemvirs shou'd be delivered into their Hands, and loudly threatened they wou'd burn them alive.

Valerius

to

to

tl

0

ti

tł

m

in

th

p]

Vi

F

A

of

th

he

hi

66

-

of

n

1-

cs

1-

at

ty

nd

n.

n-

er

ir

ne

in

10

n-

ir

n-

ot

3,

ot

of

nis he

0-

e-

of

ft

e-

ed

eir

rn

us

Valerius and Horatius were not at all more favourable to those Magistrates than the People themselves; but they prosecuted the Design of destroying them with more Art. At the fame time that in general terms, they exhorted the whole Army not to be governed by cruel Thoughts, they cunningly infinuated to the chief Leaders, that when the People were in Possession again of their Rights, and their Tribunes their Laws and Assemblies were restored to them, they wou'd then have it in their Power to do Justice to themselves; and that before the Negotiation was out of their Hands, they hoped to enable them to dispose uncontrolably of the Lives and Fortunes of their Fellow-Citizens, let their Quality be what it wou'd.

The People being fatisfied by their Officers, that even their former Tribunes cou'd not have more Zeal and Warmth for their Interests than those two Senators, trusted every thing to their Management. Valerius and Horatius returned immediately to the Senate; and in the account they gave in Public of the Demands of the People, omitted their Resentment and Threats against the Decemvirs. They even seemed to hint, that they consented every thing past shou'd be buried in Oblivion, provided their Tribunes were restored to them. The Decemvirs, allured with these false hopes, went into the Forum, where they publickly laid down their Authority. Appius alone, stung with remorfe of Conscience, made a different Judgment of this feeming Moderation in the Army. Tho he had deposed himself as well as the rest of his Colleagues, " I am not ignorant, faid he " aloud, of the Mischies which are preparing for us. They only let alone attacking us

" till they have put Arms into the Hands of

A

or

of

A

ze

ful

the

 $\mathbf{D}_{\mathbf{i}}$

Or

tak

the

im

voi

Ce

ma

for

zen

Aff

anc

ful

fron

lye

this

Sen

libe

fup

the

pre

Ser

not

grie

Ple

pre

lute

But

" our Enemies.

Valerius and Horatius, without troubling themselves with his dismal Presages, ran to the Camp to acquaint the People with the Abdication of the Decemvirs, and the Senate's Decree for the Restoration of the Tribunes: " Return, "Soldiers, faid he, to your Country; come " once more and see your Domestic Gods, your "Wives and Children; and may this Return " be happy and propitious to the Republic. The Army gave them the most hearty thanks, the Soldiers proclaimed them the People's Protectors, and the generous Defenders of the Public Liberty. They immediately take up their Enfigns, and exulting with Joy chuse the thortest way to Rome. But before they separated or returned to their Houses, the whole Army and People went to Mount Aventine, where they made Election of their Tribunes. A. Virginius the Father of the hapless Virginia, Numitorius her Uncle, and Icilius to whom she was betrothed, were chosen first. C. Ficinius, M. Duillius, M. Titinius, M. Pomponius, C. Apronius, P. Villius, and C. Oppius, were appointed their Colleagues. An Inter-Rex was afterwards created, and according to the defires of the People named for Confuls L. Valerius and M. Horatius; the Reward of their successful cares for the Restoration of the Public Tranquility.

1.1.3.

Livy Dec.

Year of Rome

Their whole Consulate was popular, and the Plebeians obtained from them, what they durst never have hoped from their very Tribunes themselves. We have already seen that the Patricians and Senators pretended they were not subject to the Decrees of the People in

semblies

of

n-

p

of

or

n,

nè

ur

rn ic.

ty

oof

ap

ne

ale

ie,

es.

a,

ne

1.

oed

ds

M. ul

1-

ic

es

e

n es

Affemblies convened by Tribes. The People, on the contrary, maintained that the Sovereignty of the State lying effentially in the general Assembly of the Roman People, all the Citizens of every Rank whatfoever ought to be subject to it, since they had a Right to give their Votes in it, each in his Tribe. Dispute was often renewed between the two Orders of the Republic. The two Confuls taking advantage of the absolute Authority they had then in the Government, got this important Affair decided in the People's fayour, and by a Decree pass'd in the Comitia of Centuries, it was declared, That all Decrees made in the Comitia by Tribes shou'd have the force of Laws with Relation to all the Citizens.

The Lex Valeria touching Appeals to the Affembly of the People was confirmed a-new, and ftrengthened with another, making it unlawful to establish any Magistracy for the future, from whole Judgments an Appeal shou'd not The Confuls added to lye to that Assembly. this Law a Regulation importing, that the Senatusconfulta, and even the most secret Deliberations of the Senate, which were often suppress'd or alter'd by the Consuls, shou'd for the future be transmitted to the Ædiles, and preserved in the Temple of Ceres. Most of the Senate lubicribed to thele various Regulations not without Repugnance. They faw with grief that two Patricians and Confuls, more Plebeian than the Tribunes themselves, under pretence of lecuring their Liberty, were ablolutely ruining the Authority of the Senate. But the more equitable and less ambitious part of that Body, grown wifer by the Tyrannical

Conduct of the Decemvirs, chose rather to give the Guardianship of the Public Liberty to the People, than to intrust it to the Men of Power who by their credit might have an

opportunity of abusing it.

The Republic by these several Regulations, and the Re-establishment of her old Magistrates, having refumed her Ancient Form of Government, there was now nothing left of the Decemvirate but the Persons of the Decemvirs. We have already feen how odious they were to the Multitude: Virginius thought this a good time to profecute them; and in quality of Tribune of the People, he brought an Impeachment against Appius, and declared himself his Accuser. Appius came before the Assembly habited in Black, suitable to the present condition of his Fortune. The People beheld with pleafure that haughty Decemvir with a dejected Countenance, in the very fame place, where but a few Days before he appeared furrounded by his Guards, and proudly awing the Multitude with the terror of his Lictors armed with their Axes.

Livy. l. 3.

Virginius addressing his Speech to the Assem-D.Hl. i. bly, "I accuse, said he, O Romans, a Man who Diod. 1.12. 66 made himself the Tyrant of his Country; " who obliged you to have recourse to Arms " to defend your Liberty; who to fatisfie his

" infamous Lust, was not ashamed to tear a " Roman Maid of free condition out of her Fa-

"ther's Arms, to deliver her over to the vile Mi-" nister of his Pleasures, and who by a Sentence

" no less Unjust than Cruel, reduced a Father " to the extremity of Stabbing his own Daugh-

" ter to fave her Honour. Then turning to Appius, he told him, that without expatiating

upon

iı

C

h

tl

ri

P

ra

B

to

bυ

A

en

ha

ed

of

to

he

Wi

Ab

66

upon a relation of all his Crimes, the very least of which deserved the highest Punishments, he only demanded what he had to say for the Sentence he gave against Virginia: "Why, said he, "did you refuse a Woman of free condition, her Liberty provisionally, while it was yet in dispute? If you cannot answer me, I ordain that you be immediately carried to Prison.

to

ty

en

an

ıs,

es,

nle-

TS.

ere

od of

:h-

his

na-

on

ea-

ted ere

ded

the

ned

m-

ho

у;

rms

his

r a

Fa-Mi-

ncc

her

gh

to

ing pon Appius represented that a Person accused had never been denied the Delays necessary to provide for his Desence; that it was a thing unheard of in the Republic, that any Citizen shou'd be imprisoned before he had been heard in a sull Assembly; and that if the Tribune, contrary to all Laws, pretended to arrest him, he appealed from him to the People: And that their Conduct towards him wou'd shew Posterity, whether the Appeals about which the People seemed so jealous, were not only the appearance of a Privilege, subject to the Cabals and Brigues of the Tribunes, or whether they were to be looked upon as the unshakable Supports of Liberty.

Most unprejudiced Men thought this Demand but reasonable: But Virginius maintained that Appius was the only Person who ought not to enjoy the benefit of the Laws, which he himself had violated in his Decemvirate. He reproached him, that without regard to the Privileges of Roman Citizens, he had put many of them to Death; that he had imprisoned others; that he had even built new Prisons, which he used, with a barbarous Irony, to call the Houses and Abodes of the Roman People. "Thus, said "Virginius, tho' you appeal a hundred times over to the People, I order that you be ar-

"rested, for sear so many heinous Crimes hou'd escape the Justice of the Laws." Accordingly he was led to Prison, and the Tribunes appointed him a Day for producing his Defence.

Livy Dec. 1. 1. 3.

His Uncle, C. Claudius, who had always been against the Decemvirs, and who had particularly detested the Pride and Insolence of his Nephew, ran however to his Aid as foon as ever he heard of his Difgrace. We have already faid, that to avoid being an Eye-Witness of the Tyrannical Government of the Decemvirs, and of the Miseries of Rome, he had retired to Regillus, the ancient Country of his Ancestors. He was no fooner come to Rome, but he appeared in the Forum in a habit of Mourning, and made ftrong Sollicitations for his Nephew's Liberty. His Friends and Relations joined with him in it, and reminded the People, that it wou'd be a shame to themselves in future Ages, that the Man who had invented their Laws and composed the Roman Jurisprudence, had been buried in a Dungeon with Villains and Robbers. Claudius befought every Man particularly not to fix such a Shame upon the Family of the Claudians; but rather to grant one fingle Man to fo many illustrious Citizens of the same Name and Blood who begg'd him, than to refuse almost the whole Senate, for the fole fake of Virginius. He faid, that the People having fortunately recovered their Liberty by their Courage, there wanted nothing now to the Happiness of the Republic, but a Union among the several Orders of the State, which wou'd be best restored by Clemency, and by forgiving Appius for the fakes of those who beg'd his Pardon.

Diony fius

h

Dionyfius Halicarnasseus tells us, that the Tribunes fearing Appius wou'd escape them by the Credit of his Family, caused him to be strangled in Prison, and then gave out, that that famous Criminal despairing of Mercy, had killed himself before the Day appointed for his Tryal. Livy, without mentioning a Word of the Tribunes, barely relates that Appius, to avoid the Infamy of a Public Punishment, put an end to his own Life in Prison. Be it as it will, Sp. Oppius, his Colleague, had the fame Fate. Numitorius, another Tribune of the People, and Virginia's Uncle, profecuted him as the Accomplice and Affistant of Appius. Besides this Article, a Veteran Soldier complained that without the least cause, he had ordered his Back to be torn with Whips by his Sattelites. He was thrown into Prison, where he died, either by his own Hand, or by order of the Tribunes, and in vertue of a Plebiscitum, as Dionysius Halicarnasseus further pretends. The other eight Decemvirs fought their Preservation in Flight, and banished them-Their Effects were confiscated and fold publickly, and the Price carried by the Quæstors into the Public Treasury. Marcus Claudius, the Instrument that Appius made use of to get Virginia into his Power, was condemned to Death. But he had Friends who prevailed with Virginius to be contented with his Exile.

This Revenge was taken for the innocent Blood of the unfortunate Virginia, whose Death, like that of Lucretia, procured the Roman People their Liberty a second time.

Tho' the Punishment of the Decemvirs was owned to be just; yet the Senate cou'd not help being under some Consternation at the

Aa

Death

nysius

ri-

his

een

rly

Ve-

ver

ady

the

and

to

OTS.

ap-

ing,

ew's

ined

pie,

fu-

nted

pru-

with

very

pon

r to

s Ci-

gg'd

nate,

tthe

· Li-

hing

out a

tate,

ency,

those

Death and Exile of the chief Men of their Body. They were especially displeased with the two Consuls, who had given them up to Virginius's Resentment, without shewing the least Inclination to soften the People in their behalf. Neither was it possible to foresee what Bounds the Tribunes, who were so closely united with the two Confuls, wou'd put to their Revenge: They seemed to be so many new Decemvirs, that had a Design to bring in the like Tyranny again. Duillius, who was one of that College, but more moderate, dispelled the Fears of the Senate: " At length, fays he, " in a full Assembly, enough has been done for " the Satisfaction of Virginius, and the Resto-" ration of our Liberty. I FORBID that " during the rest of the Year any more Peo-" ple be brought to Justice, or thrown into " Prison, for this Affair. " This word I forbid, fo awful in the Mouth of a Tribune, put a Stop to the Profecutions of his Colleagues, and repressed their Violence.

24 OC 62 The End of the Fifth Book.





THE

HISTORY

OFTHE

REVOLUTIONS

That happened in the Government

OF THE

ol, ad

ROMAN REPUBLIC.

BOOK VI.

The two Consuls, Valerius and Horatius, obtain from the People the Honour of the Triumph which the Senate had refused them. The Tribunes form a Design of making themselves perpetual. One of them hinders the Execution of it. Two Patricians are now first seen among the Tribunes. The Æqui and Volsci, taking advantage of the Divisions that rage in Rome, plunder the Country to the very Gates of that A 2 2 City.

City. They are routed and cut to pieces by the Consuls Quintius and Agrippa. Military Tri-Sp. Melius aspires to the Sobunes. Gensors. vereign Power. In a public Dearth be wins the meaner fort of People by free distributions of Corn, and some of their Tribunes by Money. He causes a great quantity of Arms to be brought into his House by Night. His Designs are found out. Having refused to appear before the Dictator Quintius, he is run thro' with a Sword in the midst of a Band of his Adherents, whom he was stirring up to a Revolt. Mamercus Æmilius being Dictator, proposes a Law for restraining the Office of Censor to one Year and a half. C. Furius and M. Geganius, the Censors for that Year, revenge themselves upon the Distator by trying to dishonour him. The People take his part. The Consuls, T. Quintius and C. Julius Mento, are beaten by the Æqui and Volsci. The Senate applies to the Tribunes of the People to get them to cause a Distator to be named. C. Sempronius Atratinus brings the whole Roman Army in danger of being cut to pieces. An Officer of Horse named Tempanius succours the Consul in time, and prevents the Defeat. Tempanius, at his return to Rome, is raised to the Tribuneship. He publickly undertakes the Defence of Sempronius, and prevails upon his Accuser to desist from the Prosecution he had begun against him. Nevertheless, shortly afterwards that Consular is condemned to a heavy Fine thro' the Cabals of some Tribunes of the People, exasperated, that in the Election for Questors, whose Number was encreased, the Patricians had been preferr'd to the Plebeians. The Æqui surprize the Town of Vola. Posthumius is employed to drive them out of it again. He breaks

t

breaks his word with his Soldiers, to whom he had promised the Plunder of the Town as soon as it shou'd be taken. To make them amends. a Tribune of the People demands, that a Colony shou'd be settled at Vola, composed of those very People that had help'd to take the Town. A baughty Saying of Potthumius. He is killed by his own Soldiers. Plebeian Quaftors. The Senate make a Decree that the Soldiery, who till then had served at their own Expence, shou'd for the future be maintained by the Republic; and that, in order to defray this Charge, an Imposition shou'd be laid, from which no Body shou'd be excused. This Senatusconsultum is ratified by a Plebiscitum, notwithstanding all the Complaints and Protestations of the Tribunes.

HE two Consuls prepared to march against the Sabines, the Æqui, and the Volsci. But before they departed from Rome, they publickly exposed the last Laws of the Decemvirs

r

e

n

5

t.

d

re

is

d

r-

y

be

or

a-

be

i-

Te

ks

engraved upon Tables of Brass. They then put themselves each at the Head of his Army. Both obtained compleat Victories over the Enemy. At their return they demanded to have solemn Thanks paid to the Gods, and then to be received at Rome in Triumph. But most of the Senators, who cou'd not forgive them the Partiality they had shewn to the People, took a secret delight in refusing them an Honour which till then had always depended entirely upon the Senate. C. Claudius even reproached them that they were Accomplices in the Death of his Nephew Appius, whom the Tribunes had strangled in Prison before he was so much as heard in his Desence. Did you not solemnly promise us,

Aa3

" faid he to them, that the Abdication of the "Decemvirs shou'd be follow'd by a general "Pardon? And yet no sooner had we obliged " those Magistrates to depose themselves, but " some were Murdered, and others con-"frained to Banish themselves " Country to fave their Lives. Appius, the " Head of the Claudian Family, the chief of " the Decemvirs, was strangled in Prison with-" out the least form of Justice, and without " fo much as being heard in the Assembly of " the People; for fear that generous People, " moved with the Tears and with the Deso-" lation of a Family that has deferved fo well of the Republic, shou'd grant him a Dis-" charge. And our Confuls, the Heads and Pro-" tectors of the Senate, they who ought to ex-" pose their very Lives for the Preservation of " its Dignity, have basely connived at the Murder of the unfortunate Appius, and profecuted no body for it.

The Senate, exasperated against the Consuls by the discourse of C. Claudius, declared them unworthy of the Honours of Triumph, and they were given to understand that it was enough they were not punished for their Criminal Intelligence with Appius's Murderers. Valerius and Horatius, provoked at so ignominious a Refusal, carried their Complaints before the Assembly of the People, and the Tribune Icilius there demanded the Triumph in their behalf. Many Senators went to the Forum to prevent the effects of this Cabal, and C. Claudius was one of them. Tho' he had always been averse to the Government of the Decemvirs, yet he cou'd never pardon the two Confuls for having delivered up his Nephew to the fury

fury of the Tribunes. He told the People, with great Courage and Boldness, that it was never known they shou'd take Cognizance or decide about the Honours of Triumph; that it was a Prerogative which belong'd entirely to the Senate, and that the Republic wou'd never be tree and quiet any longer than while one Order of the State forbore to incroach upon the

Rights and Privileges of the other.

1

-

f

ls

n

d

i-

7-

IS

e

i-

e-

O

u-

ys

n-

n-

ne

ry

But notwithstanding the Justice of these Remonstrances, the People decreed the Triumph Livy Dec. to the Consuls: A new Enterprize of the Tri- 1. 1. 3. bunes upon the Senates Authority. They did not stop here. Those Plebeian Magistrates, who by their good understanding with the two Consuls had an absolute Power in the Commonwealth, resolved among themselves to make their Government perpetual, and to continue the two Confuls in their Post: Another Conspiracy against the Public Liberty, little different from that of the Decemvirs. They covered their Ambition with the pretence of the Necessity there was of keeping in the same Magistrates, at a time when the new Laws were not yet folidly established. But to remove the Suspicion that their aim was to make themselves sole Masters of the Government, they infinuated to the People that they wou'd also have them continue Valerius and Horatius in the Consulate. By good fortune for the Republic, there happened to be a Tribune of fo much Moderation and Ability as to bring this ambitious Project to nothing. It was the fame Duillius that had lately by his Authority put a stop to the Profecution of his Colleagues against the Adherents of the Decemvirs. He was to prefide in the Assembly to be held for the Election of Aa4

Year of Rome

new Tribunes. He represented to the two Confuls that the People's Liberty was gone, if the Dignities of the Republic were trusted above a Year in the same Hands. Valerius and Horatius gave him their word, that they wou'd never accept of a continuance in the Consulate. Duillius, to make the more sure of them, asked them publickly and in a full Affembly, what Resolution they wou'd take if the Roman People, in confideration of their good Services in the Restoration of their Liberty, shou'd think fit to continue them in their Dignity. Both of them declared, that for the Preservation of the fame Liberty they wou'd refuse any Prolongation of the same Sovereign Power, as being contrary to the Laws. Duillius having got this Declaration from them gave them Praises for their Disinterestedness, which were a kind of new tye upon them, and at the fame time ferved to prejudice the People against the Defigns of the other Tribunes. Some Days afterwards the Assembly was held for the Election of new Consuls. Sp. Herminius and T. Virginius were raised to that Office. They maintained Peace and Union in the Commonwealth by a prudent Impartiality between the People and the They then proceeded to the Election of the Tribunes. Duillius, as we have faid before, presided in that Assembly, and upon this occasion acted in concert with the Senate. By means of their Credit and the Union of their Followers, five new Tribunes were immediately chosen, in spite of the Cabals of the old ones. These latter used all their Endeavours to fill up at least the other five vacant Places. Duillius still opposed it with great resolution; but as they on their fide by their management hindered

hindered the new Candidates from having the necessary number of Voices, Duillius to put an end to these Contests referred the Choice and Nomination of the other five Tribunes, to the five already chosen, according to the direction of the Law, which expresly provided, that if upon a Day of Election the full number of Tribunes cou'd not be chosen, those who were elected first shou'd have Power to name their Colleagues. He then dismissed the Assembly, deposed himself, and the new Tribunes entered upon the Exercise of

their Dignity.

f

n

ľ

Their first Business was to name their Livy Dec Colleagues, among whom every Body was 1.1.3. strangely surprised to see S. Tarpeius and A. Haterius both Patricians, old Senators, and even Consulars; which was directly contrary to the Institution of the Tribuneship, which admitted none but Plebeians. There is no accounting for so extraordinary an Event, unless we will look upon those two Patricians as deferters from their Order, that had got themselves adopted into Plebeian Families to capacitate them to be raised to a Magistracy which had the greatest share in the Government. But this is only a Conjecture; History gives us no Authority for it. Livy on the contrary infinuates that the five first Tribunes followed the Intentions of the Senate in the choice of their Colleagues: And perhaps Men of their Prudence foreseeing what fatal Consequences must follow to the Public Liberty, if the fame Tribunes were perpetuated in their Office, privately joined with Duillius to get some Patricians into the Tribuneship, with intent to counterbalance the Power of the popular Tribunes by their Authority, and in the Election for the ensuing

The History of the Revolutions

Year keep them from renewing the Propofal of continuing the Tribunes in their Posts: Which was looked upon as a step to Tyranny, and the Destruction of the Liberty of the Re-

public.

L. Trebonius, one of the Plebeian Tribunes who plainly found that his Predecessor Duillius had dissolved the Assembly, and referred to the first five Tribunes the nomination of their Colleagues, only to make way for introducing Patricians into that College, made heavy complaints of it to the People. He gave himfelf entirely up, during the whole Year, to cross those Patrician Tribunes in their Functions, * Peevish whence he acquired the Sirname of * Asper. At length he proposed a Law which he got passed, and which from his Name was called the Lex Trebonia by which it was ordained, that the Magistrate who proposed the Election Livy 1. 3. of Tribunes to the People shou'd be obliged to profecute it in all the following Assemblies, till the number of ten Tribunes was compleat-

c. 65.

ed by the Votes of the People. This Decree took from the Tribunes that were first chosen the Right of naming their Colleagues themselves, which the Romans in those Days called Cooptatio.

Year of Rome 306.

M. Geganius and C. Julius succeeded L. Herminius and T. Virginius in the Consulate. Livy informs us that after the Extinction of the Decemvirate, and the Death or Expulsion of the Decemvirs, the Republic enjoyed a feeming Tranquility, and the Union which appeared among the feveral Orders of the State kept the Neighbours of Rome in awe, and hindered them from renewing their usual Incursions.But this Calm did not hold long. The People fell

again

n

to

Ί

T

fe

T

de

fo

of

again to complaining that the Nobility and especially the young Patricians, treated them contemptuously. Their Tribunes cited some of them before the Assembly of the People, into which they strove to bring the Cognizance of all Affairs what soever. The Senate, to maintain their Authority, opposed it stifly: And tho' the wifer Men of that Body did not approve the haughty Behaviour of the young Nobility, yet they wou'd not give them up to the Perfecution of the Tribunes. This Oppofition, on account of the Jurisdiction and Privileges of each Order, revived the old Diffentions, which ran very high in the Consulate of rear of T. Quintius and Agrippa Furius. It was still the Rome fame spring of Animosity, which upon every 307. occasion broke out afresh. Each of those two Orders cou'd not bear the thoughts either of Magistrates or Authority in the contrary Party. If the Confuls were formidable to the People, the Tribunes were odious no less to the Patricians; and neither of those two Bodies thought they cou'd be free till they had pull'd down the other.

g

5,

t

d l,

n

s,

-

een

d

r-

e-

g

ed

ot

d

at H

113

The *Equi* and *Volsci*, informed of these Domestic Contentions, thought it now their time to begin their old Ravages, and took up Arms. The Consuls on their side prepared to raise Troops. But the People, at the Instigation of seditious Tribunes, resused to list themselves. The Enemy, meeting with no Obstacle, plundered the Country, and carried their Boldness so far as to bear off the Cattel that grazed near the *Esquiline* Gate.

The two Consuls, yet more provoked at the People's Disobedience than the Audaciousness of the Enemy, convened a general Assembly.

Quintius,

The History of the Revolutions

Quintius, a Man illustrious for several Victories, respected for the Purity of his Manners and the Wisdom of his Counsels, and who had been honoured with three Consulates, arose, and courageously told both the Senate and the People, that their eternal Dissentions wou'd at length occasion the total Destruction of the That the Senate prefuming too Republic. much upon their Dignity and Wealth wou'd fet no Bounds to their Authority, nor the People to an unbridled Licence, which they cloathed with the name of Liberty; and that each defended themselves against the Injuries which they pretended to be done them, only by greater Outrages. "One wou'd think, continued that " great Man, that Rome holds within her Walls two different Nations contending with each other for the Command. When " shall we see an end of this Discord? When " shall we have one Interest, and one common " Country? The Enemies are at our Gates; " Esquilice was upon the very point of being " furprised, and no body stands up to oppose " them. From the top of our Walls we behold " our Country laid waste, and our burning " Houses smoaking all round us: And we see all " this with a shameful Indifference, nay per-" haps with a fecret Pleasure, when the Mis-" chief falls upon the contrary Party. What is there in the City sufficient to repair such " Losses? The Senate indeed sees at its Head "Confuls, and the prime Magistrates of the " Republic; but those Consuls, without Forces and without Authority, groan at the Peo-" ples Infensibility to their Country's Glory. "That People on their part have Tribunes; " but can those Tribunes with all their Ha-

ti

W

tl

h

al

m

in

ly

ty

rangues

"rangues ever restore them what they have lost? Extinguish, O Romans, these stall Diwisions; generously break this cursed Inchantment which keeps you buried in an unworsthy Inaction. Open your Eyes, and consider the Management of those ambitious Men, who to make themselves considerable in their Party, study nothing but how they may foment Divisions in the Commonwealth. And if you yet can call to mind your ancient Valour, march out of Rome with your Consuls, and I devote my Head to the most cruel Punishments, if in a few Days we do not drive away those that plunder our Lands, and remove the War into the very heart of their

" Country.

e

t

C

O

d

h

r

t

r

n

n

ge

d

g

.

-

t

h

d

e

-

7.

Never, fays Livy, were the People more Dec. 1.1.3. pleased even with the flattering Speeches of ac. 69. Tribune, than they were with the severe Reproaches of this generous Consul. The Senate was touch'd with them no less; the most virtuous Men of that Body confessed, that those who had preceded him in that Dignity had either misused the People, to make themselves agreeable to the Senate, or else betrayed the Interests of their own Body to win favour of the People; but that T. Quintius appeared to have nothing at all at Heart but the Union of all the Orders, and the Majesty of the Roman Name.

The Confuls and Tribunes, the Senate and People concurred unanimously in taking Arms. The Contention now was, which shou'd appear most ready. All the Youth offered themselves in crowds to be inlisted. The Levies were quickly made; each Cohort chose its Officers, and two Senators were set at their Head; and all

this

this was done with fo much Diligence and Expedition, that that very Day the Enfigns were taken out of the Treasury and the Army marched ten miles on their way. The Confuls next Day met and surprised the Enemy. Fight however proved to be bloody; the *Equi* and Volsci fought with great Valour; the left Wing of the Romans gave ground. Furius Agrippa, who led that Body, finding the heat of his Soldiers began to cool, fnatched an Enfign from an Officer that bore it, and threw it into the middle of a Cohort of the Enemies. Romans flew to recover it, and with the shock put the Enemy into diforder, and gave the first turn to the Battel. Quintius had been no less fuccessful than his Colleague. The Æqui and Volsci, beaten on both sides, retired into their Camp. The Confuls invested it, and forced it A great number of Equi and Sword in hand. Volsci were cut to pieces; the rest fled. The Romans, now left fole Masters of the Camp, found a great Booty in it, and then returned to Rome laden with the Enemy's Spoils, and with those which they had got in the Territory of Rome.

A Victory fo sudden made the People sensible of their own Strength, and the need which the Senate had of them: This made their Ambition and their Pretensions greater than ever. They grew every Day more sierce and more enterprizing. Those who had acquired Wealth, or distinguished themselves by their Valour, demanded to have the Law so injurious to the People for prohibiting all Inter-marriage between them and Patrician Families abolished, as a Remnant of the Tyranny of the Decemvirs. The Tribunes, ever turbulent, revived the

X-

rê

ný

uls

hė

qui

eft.

A-

of

gn

ito

he

ck

irst

less

ind

eir

dit

and

he

np,

to

ith

· of

ble

the

iti-

hey

ter-

or

de-

the

be-

red,

em-

ved

thc

he Affair of the Partition of the Lands; others publickly averred, that fince Laws had been established equal to all the Citizens, the Dignities ought also to be common to them all; and many of the Heads of the People already fet their Eyes upon the Consulship it self, which till then had been reserved to the first Order. D.H. l. 11. Nine of the Tribunes proposed in a full Assem-Livy l. 4. bly, that a new Law shou'd be made to admit Plebeians into the Consulship for the future. C. Canuleius at the same time demanded, that by a Decree of the People the Law in the twelve Tables shou'd be revoked, which forbad the Patricians from making Alliances with Plebeian Families. M. Genutius and P. Curtius, who were Consuls that Year, tried to keep off these new Proposals, under pretence they had received Advice, that the *Equi* and *Volsci* were preparing to renew the War. These foreign Wars were the Senate's usual Expedients; and they hardly ever had Peace with their own Citizens, but when they had them out of Rome, and were fighting with the Enemies of their Country. The two Consuls, in this view, order Levies to be made, and proclaim that every Man be ready with his Arms. But Canuleius plainly faw the Artifice. "Whether the News of this "War be true, faid he, directing his Speech "to the Consuls, or whether it be only a false "Rumour spread abroad for nothing but a " Colour to draw the People out of the City: "I declare, as Tribune, that this People, who " have already so often spilt their Blood in our "Country's Cause, is again ready to follow " their Consuls and their Generals, if they are " restored to their Liberty, and to that natu-" ral Right of being allowed to unite them-66 felves

" selves with you by mutual Alliances; and if " the hope of Honours, and the entrance in-" to the chief Dignities be open indiffe-" rently to all the Citizens of Merit. " you persist in your Resolution of maintaining the Law of the Decemvirs touching Marriages; if you continue to treat us like 66 Strangers in our own Country; if you ac-" count the People unworthy of your Alliance, " and if you refuse them the Privilege of rai-" fing to the Consulate such as they judge most "worthy, without obliging them to confine " their Choice only to the Senate; in a word, " if you do not remove the Distinction of No-" bles and Plebeians, fo odious in a Common-" wealth; and if there be any other Nobility " for the future, but what is due to Virtue " honoured with Magistracies common to all " the Citizens: Talk of Wars as much as ever " you please; paint the League and Power of " our Enemies ten times more dreadful than you " do now; order your Tribunal, if you think fit, " to be brought into the Forum in order to " make Levies; I declare that this People whom " you so much despise, and to whom you are " nevertheless obliged for all your Victories, " shall never more inlist themselves; not a Man " shall appear to take Arms, and you shall newer more find a Plebeian that will expose his " Life for imperious Masters, who are glad to " affociate us with themselves in the dangers of "War, but who in Peace think to exclude us " from the Rewards due to Valour, and from " the sweetest Fruits of Victory.

The Confuls were the more alarmed at the Tribune's Boldness, because they durst not call the Senate, in which the People had their de-

clared

if

in-

Fe-

if

in-

ng

ike

ac-

ce,

ai-

oft

ine

rd,

10-

on-

ity

tue

all

ver

of

ou

fit,

to

om

are

es,

lan

ne-

his

to

of

us

om

the

call

de-

red

clared Favourers, who gave the Tribune an account of every thing that past. So that those two Magistrates were forced to hold particular Councils with the Senators of their Party. They represented, that it was impossible to bear any longer with the enterprises of the Tribunes, and that they must resolve either to suppress the Senate or abolish that popular Magistracy, the Source of eternal contentions between the C. Claudius the De-Senate and the People. cemvir's Uncle, who had received from his Anceftors, as it were by Succession, an hereditary Hatred to the Faction of the People, spoke first, and gave it as his Opinion, that they shou'd rather have recourse even to Arms, than yield the Dignity of the Consulship to the People, and that without Distinction either of private Men or Magistrates, they ought to treat as Public Enemies all that shou'd undertake to change the Form of the Government. Quintius, who was more moderate, and who apprehended these contests might be inflamed into a Civil War, remonstrated, that there were among the Plebeians a great many Officers of extraordinary Merit, who had acquired great Glory in the Wars. That it was but reasonable to do fomething for so generous a People, and that it was indeed but common Prudence in the Senate to give up part of its Prerogatives to fave the reft.

The Majority of the Assembly declared themselves of his Opinion. C. Claudius rising up again: "I yield, said he, to Plurality of Voices; but since you think it proper to admit Plebeians into the Government, let us endeavour to satisfie this restless People, without howe-

" ver debasing the Majesty of the Consulship.

B b

And

"And in order to reconcile two things that " feem so opposite, I propose that instead of " Consuls, we elect fix or eight Military Tri-D.H.l. 11.66 bunes, chose equally out of the Senate and the " People, who shall be invested with the Con-" fular Power. The People by this means will " be fatisfied; and the Consulate in more fa-" vourable times may resume its Ancient Splen-"dour and Majesty. Great Praises were given to Claudius, and all joined in the Proposal. Then that ancient Senator addressing his Speech to M. Genutius, first Consul: " In order to suc-"ceed in this Defign, faid he, convene the Se-" nate, send for the Tribunes of the People; " and when the Assembly is form'd, declare "that you invite all who love their Country " to speak their Minds freely with relation " to the new Laws which the People demands. "Then gather the Opinions; and instead of " beginning with T. Quintius, my self, or the " most ancient Senators, grant that Honour " to Valerius and Horatius, as you have a right " to do as Consul: And by that means we shall 66 learn the Sentiments of those Favourers of " the People, who have fold their Faith to the "Tribunes. I then will stand up and answer " what they fay, which I will do without spa-" ring them, and with all my Might oppose " the Abolition of the Law of Marriages and the Election of a Plebeian to be Consul. Then 46 ask the opinion of your Brother, T. Genutius, and let that wife Senator, under pretence of trying to reconcile the different Interests of "the People, and the Senate, propose as of his own Motion to suspend the Election of Con-" fuls, and in their stead to create Military

66 Tribunes, and let him include in his advice

af

C

pa

an

C

ple

66

66

" the

"the Abolition of the Law relating to Mar"riages. I will oppose this as much as the

" other, but you and your Colleague, and all

"You the chief of the Senate, out of seeming Favour to the People, shall declare for

the advice of your Brother. The People fhall be obliged to your Family for this Con-

" cession, and the Tribunes will infallibly join

" in with you, if for nothing but to triumph

" over my Opposition.

1

e

y

n

S.

of

ne

ır

ht

all

of

he

er

a-

ose

nd

en

us,

of

of

his

on-

ary

the

All approved of this Expedient; each agreed D.H. l. 11. upon the part he shou'd act; the Consuls assembled the Senate, and desired Canuleius and the other Tribunes to be at it. The Assembly being formed, Canuleius, instead of laying forth the Justice and Usefulness of the Laws he proposed, ran wholly into bitter Complaints against the two Consuls, for holding secret Councils, in prejudice of the People's Interests, without calling to them the best Men in the Senate, and especially Valerius and Horatius who had done so great a Service to the Republic in the Abolition of the Decemvirate, which ought to be look'd upon as their Work.

The Consul Genutius replied, that they had assembled some ancient Senators, only to consult with them, whether it wou'd be best to convene the Senate instantly about the new Laws, or to defer it till the end of the Campaign. That if they did not summon Valerius and Horatius with the oldest Senators to that Council, it was only to avoid making the People suspect they had changed their Party. "And to convince you, added Genutius, that my "Colleague and I behave our selves in this affair

"without the least partiality, we shall only give you this one proof of it, namely, that tho'

" give you this one proof of it, namely, that tho'
Bb 2 "the

The History of the Revolutions

"the first Opinions are usually of very great weight, and it has been the Custom for the Consuls to ask that of the oldest Senators

first, yet as you do not believe them to be

"friends to the People, we will now change that Order, and begin with Valerius and Hora-

" tius." Then addressing himself to Valerius

he invited him to declare his Opinon.

Valerius first dwelt a great while upon his own Services to the People, and those of his Family. He added, that he thought no State cou'd be called Free whose Citizens did not all live upon a perfect Equality. He concluded with giving it as his Opinion, that the Plebeians ought to be excluded from the Confulate no longer; but at the same time he exhorted the Tribunes of the People to defift from the Opposition they had form'd against the levy of Troops, which the Consuls wanted to make, provided those Magistrates wou'd engage to proceed to the Publication of the Laws at the end of the Campaign. Horatius, whose Opinion was asked next, spoke much to the same purpose: And he too declared for marching against the Enemy; but that after the War shou'd be happily concluded, the Consuls, the first thing they did, shou'd bring into the Assembly of the People the Senatusconsultum, for empowering them to deliberate an Affair of that great importance.

This Advice raised great Murmurs in the Assembly. The Senators, who cou'd not agree to admit *Plebeians* into the Consulate, thought they shou'd gain a great point, if they cou'd put off the Deliberation. Those on the contrary who favoured the People, cou'd not bear this delay, and maintained, that the Senatusconsultum

ought

"

"

"

"

66

"

"

ought at least to be signed before they separated.

The Confuls then ask'd the Opinion of C. Claudius, who as they had before agreed, spoke with great Courage and Strength against these new Pretensions of the People. He recalled the Memory of all the various Attempts they had made upon the Senate's Authority, ever fince their Retreat upon the Mons Sacer. "That restless " and inconstant People, said he, wou'd needs " have their particular Magistrates; and for the " fake of Peace we granted them Tribunes. "They then required Decemvirs, and we con-" fented also to their Creation. They soon grew " difgusted with those Magistrates, and out of " regard to them we subscribed to their depo-" sal. Nay we did more; for the sake of Peace " we connived at the violent Deaths of some " of them, and the Banishment of others. Last-" ly, in these our Days we have seen two of " our Consuls, more popular than the very Tri-" bunes themselves, sacrifice the Interests of "their own Order to the People's Ambition. " From Sovereign Magistrates that we were " before, from having none but the Gods and " our Consuls above us, we have been made " subject to the Tyranny of the Tribunes. Our "Councils, our Deliberations, nay even our "Lives and our private Estates depend upon "their Will; and those Plebeian Magistrates " dispose of them as they think fit in those tu-" multuous Affemblies where Paffion and Fury " have a greater sway than Reason and Justice. "Nor do they stop here; C. Canuleius is now " for uniting, by a shameful mixture, the illu-" strious Blood of the Nobility with that of " the Plebeians. If he brings this about, those B b 3 " who

1

,

0

r

e

e

0

0

n

The History of the Revolutions

"who are born of Marriages so contrary to our Laws, always in dispute with themselves, will hardly know from what Families they

" descend, what Sacrifices they ought to join in, and whether they are of the Body of the

"People or Patricians. And as if it was not enough to confound all distinction of Birth,

" and to break thro' all Rights both Divine and

"Humane, the Colleagues of Canuleius, the Tribunes, those Disturbers of the public Quiet,

" have the boldness to lift their Eyes to the very

"Consulship it self. We are now just on the point of seeing that great Dignity sall a prey to

" Canuleians and Icilians. But let those new Men

V

f

P

n

F

fa

to

cl

tł

F

tr

ta

lie

W

C

fa

" be affured, added Claudius, that the Gods, Protectors of this Empire, will never fuffer it;

" and that we our felves will rather die a thou-

fand Deaths, than bear so great an Infamy.

him, and asked him abruptly, wherein the Gods wou'd be offended, if *Plebeians*, possessed of all the Qualifications necessary for Government, were chosen Consuls. "Can you then be to

learn, replied Claudius, that the Plebeians have no Auspices, and cannot take them? Do you

of not know that this was one of the Reasons

"which induced the Decemvirs to forbid all unequal Alliances by the Laws of the Twelve

"Tables, that the Auspices might be taken on-

" ly by Patricians, whose Birth shou'd be pure and without mixture; so that the Priesthood

and the Confulship are equally restrained to that Order?

This Answer was solid, and built upon the original Establishment of their Religion and Laws. But it only served to exasperate the People against Claudius; as if that Senator by

fuch Reasons had intended to reproach them, that they were not acceptable to the Gods, and were unworthy, thro' the Baseness of their Birth,

to be initiated into their Mysteries.

The Confuls, to prevent the Bitterness which began to spread thro' the Minds of the Assembly, asked the Opinion of T. Genutius, the Brother of one of those Magistrates. That Senator declared, that he with the greatest Concern beheld the Commonwealth afflicted with two Scourges at the same time enough to destroy it utterly; namely, a War abroad, and domestic Feuds within the State: That each of those Evils called for a fpeedy Remedy, but that it was fo much the more difficult to find it, as the People's Discontent kept up the Enemy's Confidence. Nevertheless, that it was absolutely necessary to resolve upon something, and to chuse whether to bear the Insults of the Æqui and Volsci, or if they wou'd march into the Field to grant some satisfaction to the People. That his Advice was, rather to yield up some part of the Prerogatives of the Nobility in their favour, than to abandon the Territory of Rome to be plundered by Strangers. And he concluded, according to his private agreement with the Consuls and Claudius, that the Law forbidding Alliances between Patrician and Plebeian Families ought to be abolished, as being contrary to the Union which ought to be maintained between the Citizens of the same Republic. He added, that if the ancient Senators were so averse to the thoughts of seeing the Consular Dignity in the Hands of Plebeians, a medium might be found which perhaps might fatisfy both Parties. That the way wou'd be to suspend for a time the Election and Title of that B b 4 Dignity,

0

C

u

1

e

0

e

Dignity, and to create in the room of Confuls fix military Tribunes, who shou'd have the same Functions and the same Authority, and that the three first shou'd always be Patricians, and the other three might be Plebeians. That the Year following the Senate and People might decide by plurality of Voices in a general Assembly, what Magistrates they wou'd be governed by, and whether they wou'd have Confuls again as D.H.l. 11 of old, or continue to elect military Tribunes: which for the future shou'd be done in all the Comitia.

Livy I. 4.

This Proposal was approved by plurality of Voices, in spite of the seeming opposition of Claudius. T. Genutius had the Praises both of the Senate and the People for this happy thought; the Senators were glad to have excluded the Plebeians from a Dignity which they hoped to fet up again with all its Prerogatives in more favourable Times; and the People, without disturbing themselves about an empty Name, cou'd not contain their Joy at seeing themselves at length admitted into the Government of the Commonwealth under any Title whatfoever. Most of them cried they wou'd now no longer refuse to march against the Enemy; that they wou'd willingly expose themselves to the Danger, fince they were to have a share in the Reward.

Some days afterwards an Assembly was held for the Election of these new Magistrates. Some former Tribunes of the People, and the chief Plebeians, hoping to carry those Dignitics, appeared in the Forum cloathed in white, to be the more remarkable; but the People, satisfied with having obtained a Right to set up in those Elections, gave all their Votes to Patricians.

Nay,

fe

T

je

Nay, and but three Military Tribunes were chosen, and the majority of Voices fell upon A. Sempronius Atratinus, L. Attilius, and T. Ce-Year of cilius or Clælius, all three Patricians, and emi-Rome nent for their Valour and Capacity in the Art D. H. Ibid. of War.

But these three Magistrates were obliged to depose themselves three Months after their Election, upon account that C. Curiatius, who prefided in it, gave notice that the Ceremonies of the Auspices, which always used to precede the Elections for Curule Magistracies, had not been exactly observed. The Romans were very scrupulous in the least Circumstances that concerned their Religion; but perhaps the Patricians created this doubt only in order to restore the Consular Office. And accordingly, the military Tribunes had no fooner abdicated their new Dignity, but an Inter-rex was named, that the T. Quinti-Commonwealth might not remain without a us Barba-Head or Governor. But as he held the Government only in Trust, and in order to transfer the Authority to Annual Magistrates, the main Question was, whether those Magistrates shou'd be Consuls or military Tribunes; the most ancient Senators failed not to declare for the Consulship; the People on the contrary feemed inclined to military Tribunes. But a Jealousie arising among the Candidates of this last Order, those whose Faction was not strong enough to raise them to that Post, chose rather to have the Consulship restored, than to see their Rivals invested with a Dignity which they themselves cou'd not obtain; and thus by the joint consent of the Senate and People, the Inter-rex appointed Confuls, and named to fill rear of that Post the remaining part of the Year, L. Pa-Rome

pirius 309.

The History of the Revolutions

pirius Mugillanus, and L. Sempronius Atratinus, Brother to one of the Patricians that had abdi-

cated the Tribuneship, as we said above.

Year of Rome 310, or 311.

Nothing confiderable happened in their Confulate, but in the following, and that of M. Geganius and T. Quintius, the Censorship was erected; a new Office, or rather only a Portion taken out of the Consulship. And this new Dignity of Cenfor, which at first seemed of but little Moment, became in time by the Power annexed to it, the Pinacle of Honour, and the most formidable Magistracy in the Republic.

As a Spirit of Conquest was what chiefly prevailed in this Nation, the ancient King Servius, in order to have a fure supply of Men and Mony, decreed, as we have already shewn, that every five Years an enumeration shou'd be made of all the Roman Citizens, with an exact valuation of every Man's Wealth. The Prince or Magistrate by this means cou'd know immediately how many Inhabitants Rome had capable of bearing Arms, and what Contribution might be raised upon them.

But the Confuls, who were frequently taken up abroad with almost continual Wars, not having had leifure in above seventeen Years to make that enumeration which was called the Census, it was proposed for the ease of the Confuls, that two Magistrates shou'd be created of the Order of the Patricians, who, with the Title of Censors, shou'd every five Years take that general Review of the whole Roman People.

The Tribunes, tho' always upon their Guard against every thing offered by the Senate, did not oppose the Establishment of this new Magistracy. They did not so much as demand that the Plebeians shou'd be allowed a share in it;

whether,

fi

whether, because they saw, that the Power which went along with the Censorship was but small, or because they were satisfied that by separating those Functions from the Consulate, a Diminution was made of the Power of a Magistracy, which was the object of their Hatred and Emulation. Thus the Law for the creation of two Censors passed without contention.

Papirius and Sempronius, the Confuls of the Year of preceding Year, were raised to that Post, and it Rome was conferr'd upon them with one Voice, to Livy Dec. make them amends for the Year of their Con-1.1.3. sultates not being compleat, because they did not enter upon the execution of it till after the

Abdication of the Military Tribunes.

O

f

t

While the Confuls had the charge of that Enumeration, all their business in that Article was only to take an exact account of the Names, Estates, Ages, and Conditions of all the Masters of Families, and the Name and Age of their Children and Slaves. But when this part of the Magistracy was dismembered from the Consulship, and made a Dignity by it self, as Men generally study nothing but how to enlarge their own Authority, the Cenfors took upon them the Reformation of Manners. They en-val. Max. quired into the Behaviour of all the Citizens; 1. 2.c. 9. the Senators and Knights were subject to their Censure as much as the meanest of the People; they had Power to expel out of those Bodies fuch as they thought unworthy of being in them. As to such Plebeians as thro' their debauchery or laziness were fallen to want, they removed them down to an inferior Class, nay oftentimes deprived them of their right of voting, and they were no longer reputed Citizens

The History of the Revolutions

but as they were still liable to pay their part of the Tributes.

When the Cenfors made their general review of the whole Nation, there was not a Citizen, but what trembled at the fight of their Tribunal; the Senator thro' fear of being driven out of the Senate; the Knight with apprehension of being broke and deprived of the Horse which the Republic kept for him, and the private Citizen with dread of being rased out of his Tribe, and removed down to the last, or at least into a Century less honourable than his own. So that this wholfome Terror was the support of the Sumptuary Laws, the bond of Concord, and as it were the Guardian

of Modesty and Virtue.

Year of Rome 311.

Year of Rome 312.

Year of Rome 313.

The Republic, by means of this new Establishment, enjoyed a profound repose in the Consulate of M. Fabius and Posthumus Albutius. Not but that some Tribunes of the People, always restless, endeavoured to revive the old Pretensions of the People, relating to the Partition of the Lands: They even threatned according to their old Custom to oppose raising any Soldiers. But as there were no Warsthen to be carried on, an Opposition which Peace made useless and ineffectual was only despised; and the Senate's Authority grew so much the stronger as they cou'd then do without the People's affiftance.

All was quiet, when the next Year in the Consulate of Proculus Geganius, and L. Menenius, there happened a dreadful Famine, which occasioned Seditions, by means whereof a private Man had like to have got Possession of the Sovereign Power. The Senate imputed this scarcity of Corn to the Laziness and Neg-

ligence

a

ligence of the Plebeians, who, intoxicated with the seditious Harangues of the Tribunes, were always sauntering in the Forum, and instead of cultivating their Lands, wasted their time in idle Reasonings about State Affairs. The People on the contrary, who always grumble at those who have the care of the Government, threw back the whole blame of this Dearth upon want of Precaution in the Consuls. But those Magistrates, without giving any heed to the Livy 14. murmurs of the Multitude, took all convenient D. Aug. de Measures to get Corn from abroad, and sent Civ. Dei. 1. C. Minutius upon that Commission.

That Senator, who was an active vigilant Man, fent Commissioners all over Tuscany; but with all their diligence he cou'd gather but a small Quantity of Corn. A Roman Knight, whose Name was Sp. Melius, the richest private Man in the Commonwealth, had been beforehand with him at the Markets, and had bought up

most of the Grain in that Province.

-

g

e

;

e

h

n

d

That Knight, who was yet more ambitious than he was rich, flattered himself, that in so general a Calamity, the People wou'd fell their Liberty at an easy Rate. Corn was every Day distributed by his order among the common People and the Poor; and with a Liberality always fuspicious, and especially in a Commonwealth, he made all those his Creatures whom he fed at his own expence; his House quickly became the place of Refuge for the poor, the idle, those that had ruined themselves by Debauchery, and fuch as being deftitute of all notions of Honour or Religion, wou'd gladly see the Government quite subverted, provided they cou'd but any way better their own circumstances in the change.

Minutius,

The History of the Revolutions

0

n

lu

st

al Ca

n P

W

th

ai

tl

N

b

C

m

ct

e

de

Minutius, whose Commission frequently obliged him, either by himself or his Agents to have some Intercourse with the Emissaries of Melius, sound out that that ambitious Man, who alone sustained as many Poor as the whole State, made use of the pretence of that Public Liberality, which drew Crowds of People to his Gate, to form Assemblies in his House, nay some, whom Minutius had probably gained, brought him Information, that a great Quantity of Arms used to be carried thither by Night.

He afterwards learnt that there was a Confpiracy laid to change the Form of the Government; that the Design was already concerted; that Melius pretended to be Sovereign; that the People seduced by his Liberalities were to take up Arms in his Favour; and that even some Tribunes were prevailed upon by Money

to fell the Public Liberty.

Minucius having discovered the whole secret of this Conspiracy, immediately gave an account of it to the Senate. Heavy Reproaches were thrown upon the Consuls of the preceding Year, and Quintius Agrippa Menenius, who succeeded them in that Dignity, for not having prevented and punished the ill Designs of Melius. Quintius replyed, that neither his Predecessors, his Colleagues, nor himself wanted either Courage or Resolution to punish so horrid an Attempt; but that every body knew the Consular Authority was in a manner annihilated by the excessive Power usurped by the Tribunes; that an Appeal to the People wou'd put a stop to all their Prosecutions, and that if ever the Business was brought before an Assembly, Melius wou'd infallibly escape from Justice, by

Year of Rome 314. by Favour of the Multitude that adored him. That in the present danger of the Republic they stood in need of a Dictator, that is to say of an absolute Magistrate that shou'd be equally above the Laws, and the Tribunes of the People.

His Advice being unanimously approved, he named L. Quintius, who notwithstanding his great Age was still Master of a Courage and Resolution, proportionable to that Supreme Magi-

stracy.

•

e

d

t

The next Day he placed Courts of Guard in all parts of the City, as if the Enemy had already been at the Gates of Rome. This Precaution surprised all that knew nothing of the Conspiracy; every body enquired the Reason of this Novelty, and why a Dictator shou'd be named in the midst of Peace. But Melius plainly faw, that Supreme Magistrate was set up only against him; he doubled his Liberalities, to strengthen himself against the Senate with the affiftance of the Multitude. The Di-Etator finding that nothing but a stroke of Authority wou'd crush so dangerous a Plot, caused the Tribunal to be brought into the Forum, and ascended it guarded by his Lictors armed with their Axes, and with all the Majesty of the Sovereign Power. He then fent Servilius, his Master of the Horse, to cite Melius to appear before him. Melius, surprised and uncertain what course to take, delayed to obey, and sought to make his Escape. Servilius commanded a Lictor to arrest him; and that Officer having executed the orders of the General of the Horse, Melius cries out, that the Senate wanted to destroy him only out of jealousy, and because he had confecrated his Estate to the relief of the

the People; he therefore implores the affiftance of the Multitude, and conjures his Friends not to suffer him to be murdered in their presence. The People rife; they encourage one another; and rescue him out of the Lictors Hands. Melius threw himself into the crowd to escape Servilius's pursuit; but as he was endeavouring to stir up a Sedition, Servilius run him thro' with his Sword; and all covered with his Blood, Livy 1. 4 appeared before the Dictator, and told him, he himself had punished a Citizen who had refused

Florus. Zonaras.

to obey his Orders.

"I expected no less from you, replied that " generous Old Man; you have by this Action " secured the Public Liberty. " He then caufed Melius's House to be razed to the Ground; prodigious Quantities of Corn were found there still, which the Dictator ordered to be fold to the People at low Rates, to hinder them from feeling the loss of Melius. for the same reason, that the Head of the Conspiracy being taken off, that prudent Magistrate did not think it proper to enquire after his Adherents, for fear he shou'd find too many guilty, and fo fling the Defign into Action by going about to punish all the Conspirators too feverely.

But the Tribunes of the People, imagining their Crime was unknown because it was unpunished, took occasion from the Dictator's indulgence to fall into Invectives against him; and especially against the General of the Horse, who without the least formality of Justice, or fo much as the order of his Superior, had killed a Citizen in the very Heart of his Country. Those Magistrates loudly threatned to make him answer severely for it, as soon as ever the

Dictator

F

0

re

gi

ne

m

fig

M

H

bl

the

no

Dictator was out of his Post; they talked of no less than throwing him down from the top of the Tarpeian Rock as a Tyrant. Never was the College of Tribunes known to be so thoroughly provoked against the Senate; they obstinately opposed the Election of Consuls: And the Patricians to avoid a Tumult were forced to be satisfied with creating only Military Tribunes.

Some Tribunes of the People flattered themfelves, that they shou'd have a great sway in this Election; but notwithstanding all their Cabals, the People, contented with being allowed to stand Candidates, gave all their Votes rear to Patricians of known Valour and Capacity, Rome among whom was L. Quintius the Son of the 315. Dictator who had just taken off Melius.

n

-

d

C

r

IS

1-

i-

er

1-

n

rs

1-

's

;

e,

or

d

y.

Ce

ne

or.

The Wars which arose against the Veientes and Volsci suspended the Rancour of the Tribunes against Servilius; nothing was thought of but how to deal with the Enemy; and a Rumour being spread abroad, that all the Nations of Tuscany were to take Arms in favour of the Veientes, Mamercus Æmilius, a Man illustrious both in Peace and War, was raised to Year of the Dictatorship, a Dignity which he had al-Rome ready enjoyed, and in which he had acquired 319. great Glory against the same Enemies. But the news of this dreadful League proving false, Æmilius finding himself deceived in his hopes of fignalizing his fecond Dictatorship by a new Victory, was refolved however to leave fome Monument of his Zeal for the Public Liberty. He observed to the People in a general Assembly, that their Ancestors, in order to preserve their Freedom, had establish'd in the Republic no Office whose Authority and Functions thou'd

shou'd last for above a Year; that they had not remembered so wise a precaution in the Creation of the Cenfors, who had been allowed a five Years Magistracy; that during an Authority of fo long continuance, they might have leisure to abuse it, to make themselves Creatures, and fo oppress the Liberty of their Country; and he proposed to make a Law for shortening the duration of that Office, and for regulating that none shou'd enjoy it above a Year and a half.

Livy l. 4.

This Discourse was received with great Applause, especially by the People. It was added to this Law, that no Senator shou'd ever have the Cenforship twice in his Life, tho' he had behaved himself in his first with the Approbation of his Fellow-Citizens; and for fear that Dignity being left in the Hands of one fingle Man shou'd make him too powerful, it was farther decreed, that if one of the Cenfors happened to dye or refign his Office, the other shou'd not hold it, nor even get a Colleague subflituted in the other's room; and that in the Election of Cenfors, tho' a Man had the Majority of Voices, he shou'd not be declared Cenfor, if his Colleague wanted the necessary Number; that the Election of both shou'd be begun again, till in the same Scrutiny they had all the Votes requisite to their being both acknowledged Cenfors together: Precautions which this Nation so jealous of its Liberty thought necessary to take against the Brigues and Cabals of the Patricians.

tl

b

tl

1

pi

di th

rit

m

th W

It

Oi

Pr

The Senate cou'd not without a fecret Difcontent bear to see the Dictator lessen the Power of a Magistracy peculiar to their Order. C. Furius and M. Geganius, the Cenfors that Year, shewed

shewed their Resentment of this Injury, without regard to the Merit and Services of *Emilius*. That Dictator had no sooner abdicated his Dignity, but in vertue of the Power belonging to the Censorship, they cut so illustrious a Man out of his Tribe, and remov'd him down to the last; took from him, as from a scandalous Wretch, the Privilege of Voting, and loaded him with a Tribute eight times greater than he used to pay. But this Persecution, instead of dishonouring him, gave him a new Lustre; all the Shame of this Revenge fell back upon the Authors: The People with Indignation pursued them into the Forum, and had torn them to pieces if *Emilius* had not

been so generous as to fave them.

1-

a

)=

C

1-

ir

r

r

a

o-

re

ıd

a-

at

le

as

rs

er

b-

ne

aed

ry

be

all

V-

ch

ht

als

if-

V-

C.

ar,

ed

The Tribunes of the People laid hold of this occasion to stir up the People's Animosity against the Senate afresh. They cried in all the Assemblies, that it was no wonder the Patricians shou'd use the People ill, when out of their hatred to the Plebeians they did not blush at depriving a Senator, a Consular, one that had been honoured with two Dictatorships, of the Right of a Citizen, only for having proposed a Law, which tho' it diminished their Authority, fecured the Public Liberty. Such discourses, repeated by the Tribunes in most of the Assemblies, kept up the rancor in the Spirits of the People, who to shew their Resentment against the Senate wou'd never give their consent to the Election of Consuls; they were again obliged to chuse Military Tribunes: It was indeed the fame Dignity and the fame Office, tho' with a different Title; but the Privilege which the People had of rejecting the Consulate, and the Liberty they were allowed Cc 2

Year of Rome 320. and of standing Candidates in the Elections for the Military Tribuneship, made the Tribunes of the People, who aspired to that Post, forget nothing that might induce the People to demand Military Tribunes; nevertheless in spite of all their Interest, the People still preposses'd in Favour of the Nobility, as to their capacity in Government, and the Command of Armies, gave their Voices again to Patricians.

This Preference turned the Complaints and Resentment of the Tribunes of the People wholly against the Multitude; they publickly threaten'd them, that they wou'd fling up the care of their Interests. "Will the fear " you are under of the Power of the Nobles, " said they in their Harangues, keep you in a e perpetual Subjection to their Will? In the Election of Military Tribunes, when you are free to give your Votes how you pleafe, " why do you never remember, neither your " felves, nor your Magistrates? Know that " there ought to be great Rewards to encou-" rage great Souls. And if motives of Grati-" tude will have no effect upon you, at least 66 be afraid that disheartened by your Indiffe-" rence, we shou'd in our turn leave you a " Prey to the Insolence and Tyranny of the ce Patricians.

I

t

it

Zi

C

to

J

15

n

W

o

pi

fh D

ta

These Discourses which the Tribunes of the People repeated in all their Assemblies, awakened the Antipathy and Ambition of the Plebeians. Each mutually exhorted the other to despise the Intreaties and Threats of the Great. They began now afresh to talk of the Division of the Lands, the everlasting Source of contention between the People and the Senate. Others proposed, that a Tax shou'd be laid at least upon

he

of

get le-

ite

s'd

ity

es,

nd

ple

cly

up ear

es,

na. he

ou

ife,

our

hat

ou-

tieast

ffe-

1 2

the

the

enle-

to

eat.

ion

en-O-

east

noc

upon those Lands, which of right belong'd to the Public, and the Mony be employed for the relief of the People, and to pay the Troops during the Campaign. Those among the Plebeians, who were eminent either for their Riches or the Glory they had acquired in the Wars, resolved to use their whole Credit to raise themselves to the Military Tribuneship, and to the Supream Authority which was affigued to that The Senate, to disperse this Storm Dignity. which was gathering against their Authority, resolved now to chuse none but Consuls: An Office from which the *Plebeians* were excluded of course, as we have said before. which the *Equi* and the *Volsci* then declared favoured this Design. As there were then no Plebeians who had ever commanded Armies, and none but old Captains and the chief Men of the Senate were fit for that Employment, the People were indifferent, whether Confuls or Military Tribunes were chosen this Year. Thus the Senate being left Masters of the Election, Year of it was foon resolved to restore the Consulship, Rome and T. Quintius the Son of Lucius, and C. Ju-322. lius Mento attained that Dignity. A better choice. cou'd not have been made, with respect either to Birth or Capacity in the Art of War. But Jealoufy and Division arising between them, it is faid they were beaten near Algidum. The Senate, to prevent the consequences of their defeat, were resolved to have recourse to a Dictator. But the two Confuls, on whom the Nomination of him depended, confidering that from fupream Magistrates, which they were now, they shou'd be reduced to the mean Quality of the Dictator's Lieutenants, and that tho' they retained the Name of Confuls, they shou'd have Cc 3 but

but little more Authority than the General of the Horse; those two Magistrates, tho' they differed in all other respects, united to keep off a Nomination which they looked upon as the destruction of their own Authority. And tho' News came upon News of the Success of the Enemies Arms, they cou'd never be prevailed

The Senate, not able to overcome their Obsti-

upon to name a Dictator.

nacy, had recourse to an Expedient more pernicious in its consequences than the very Evil Livy 1. 4. they intended to redress. Q. Servilius Priscus, a Consular Person, turning to the Tribunes of the People who were then in the Senate, exhorted them to get the People to interpose their Authority, of which they were in a manner the Guardians, to oblige the Confuls to Those Plebeian Magistrates name a Dictator. joyfully laid hold of fo fair an occasion, to raise their own Authority upon the Ruin of that of the Senate and Confuls. They even did more than was required of them, as those generally do who intend to extend their Power beyond its due limits: And instead of carrying this Affair before an Assembly of the People, they presumed in the very Senate to order the two Confuls to be led to Prison, if they did not immediately name a Dictator. Those two Magistrates submitted upon the terror of Imprisonment; they promised to name a Dictator; but they complained that the Senate it felf had debased the Consular Power, by subjecting it to the imperious Yoke of the Tribunes. It is certain, that Chief Body of the Republic being exasperated against their Heads, and minding nothing but to vanquish their Obstinacy, were not then senfible of the Breach they had made in their own Autho-

Authority. At length, after a great many Difputes between the two Confuls about the choice of a Dictator, they referred the decision of it to Chance, which proved favourable to T. Quintius; and he named his Father-in-law Tubertus.

The Dictator immediately lifted all those that were to serve, without giving Ear in the least either to complaints or excuses. He was an old Captain of great Valour and Experience; but naturally fevere and even cruel in his Govern-The Power of Life and Death, which the Dictatorship gave him, and the knowledge of his stern Disposition, made every body run obediently to take their place under his Enfigns. He foon marched forth of Rome, fought out the Enemy, defeated them in a bloody Engagement, took their Camp, and led back his Diodor.

Army victorious to Rome.

of

if-

fa

he

10,

he

ed

ti-

r-

vil

15,

of

X-

fe

n-

to es

se

of

re

lo

ts

ir

ed O

ly

)y

1-

e

-

it

d

it

1-

n

The Republic for some time after this enjoyed a profound Peace. But a Calamity more grievous than War fell upon Rome, and almost upon all Italy. An extream Droughth occasioned a Famine, which was followed by a dreadful Plague, that spared neither Man nor Beast. Year of The Romans, naturally superstitious, after hav-Rome ing in vain exhausted all the application of Medicine, had recourse to supernatural Aids. A foreign Worship was introduced into the City; Livy 1. 4. the Temples and the very Streets were crowded 12 Tabu. with People, facrificing to Deities unknown: larum And they were not ashamed, in order to drive Leges, away the Distemper, to apply to Charms, and all those idle Superstitions, which the weakness of Man has found out. The Senate, who were well apprized of the danger of Innovations in Religion, ordered the Ædiles to put a stop to this disorder; and it was forbid by a Public Cc4

Edict, to practife any Ceremony which was not lawfully admitted into the Commonwealth.

Year of Rome 327.

This Calamity being over, they proceeded to the Election of new Magistrates; and the People prevailed to have Military Tribunes chosen with the Consular Power. But this Alteration in the Government was not fortunate. War breaking out afresh with the Veientes, the Tribunes, not very well united among themselves, were defeated, which made it necessary to create a Dictator. C. Mamercus Æmilius was pitched upon to fill that eminent Dignity. His Merit, and the Necessities of the State, obliged the Romans to trust the Fortune of the Republic in the Hands of a Man, whom the Cenfors, as we heard before, did not blush to degrade from his Tribe, and to brand as unworthy of the Privileges of a Roman Citizen. The Success of this War was answerable to the Confidence which the Roman People had in their General. Mamercus Æmilius in less than sixteen Days cut part of the Enemy's Army to pieces, made a great number of Prisoners, who either served as a reward to the Soldiers, or were fold for Slaves to the profit of the Public Treasury. Flor. 1. 1. The Dictator after a folemn Triumph refigned c. 12. O- his Office, and made it a question whether his Moderation was not yet greater than his Valour.

Year of Rome 327. Livy 1 4. rof. l. 2.

c. 13.

These continual Victories of the Romans only served to swell the Minds, and encrease the Ambition of the Prime Men among the People. They wou'd not hear any more of electing Confuls, because they were excluded from the Consulate, and allowed to put up for the Tribunitian Office. Thus, in spite of all the Senate cou'd do, they were obliged to comply with

with chusing four Military Tribunes. But notwithstanding all the Endeavours which the Tribunes of the People used, to give a turn to the Election, they had again the mortification to fee the Patricians run away with all the Votes. It is impossible to express the Rage and Indignation of those Plebeian Magistrates. They declared publickly, that it was better to abolish the Law which gave the People leave to aspire to the Post of Military Tribune, than to fee it thus evaded in all the Elections by the Cabals of the Patricians; and that it wou'd be less shame to their Order, to be wholly excluded from it, as they were from the Confulship, than to have the Privilege of standing Candidates, and to be rejected upon the Election, as incapable or unworthy of that Honour. They fell into Complaints against the People themselves; they threatned wholly to throw up the care of their Interests; and as if they had a mind in revenge to turn the Commonwealth quite topfy-turvy, some proposed to carry part of the People into new Colonies, others revived the old Pretentions relating to the Division of the Lands. There were some demanded, that no Citizen shou'd be obliged to go to the War, unless a regular Pay was allow'd him. In a word, there was nothing which those seditious Magistrates forgot to trump up, that might either revenge them of the Nobility, or bring the People by the hopes of those Innovations to raise them by their Voices to the Dignity of Military Tribunes.

The Patricians who were then actually in Possession of that Office, and thought it a shame to have Plebeians for their Successors, privately agreed with the Senate to draw out

of Rome the chief of the People, and especially those that aspired to the Military Tribuneship, upon pretence of making an Incursion into the Lands of the Volsci, who they gave out were making a powerful Armament, and during their absence, instead of Military Tribunes, it was resolved to chuse only Consuls. Those Magistrates, before they left the City, gave the care of the Government and of prefiding in the Election to Appius Claudius, their Colleague, the Son of the Decemvir, a young Man, fierce, bold, enterprizing, and educated from his very Cradle in an Hereditary Aversion to the People's Power. He no fooner faw the Tribunes, and most of the Plebeians gone into the Field, but he proceeded to the Election of Confuls. C. Sempronius Atratinus, and C. Fabius Vibulanus were chosen to fill that Dignity. And the People and their Tribunes at their return found the Election of those Magistrates too strongly fettled to think of reversing it. They turn'd their Resentment against the Consuls themselves, and endeavoured afterwards to charge as a Crime upon Sempronius the ill Success he had during his Consulate in the War against the Volsci.

That warlike Nation, who had long fought with the Romans for the Empire, did this Year make as it were a final Push to avoid receiving the Yoke of their old Enemies. The Volscian Magistrates raised a great number of Troops, made choice of excellent Generals, and omitted none of those wise Precautions, which may be looked upon as the furest tokens of good Success. Rome sent against them her first Consul Sempronius, a Man full of Valour, popular and familiar to the Soldier, who adored him, but one that was more a Soldier himself than a Cap-

tain,

Year of Rome 330.

ly

p,

ne

re

eir

as i-

re he

e,

c,

ry

0-

es,

d,

ls.

a-

ne

ly

'd

es,

ne

is

ht

ar

ıg

in

S,

cd

s.

n-

id

ıt

P-

n,

tain, and that made War as if Courage alone were sufficient to supply all the Duties of a General. He advanced towards the Enemies as if he had been going to a certain Victory, and marched on with a Security ever dangerous. The two Armies foon came in view of each other: The Vol/ci had taken all the Advantages that the Situation of the place wou'd afford them. Sempronius on the contrary, who despised Enemies that they had so often vanquished, neglected all those useful precautions; and as if he had been fure of winning the Victory only with his Infantry, he left his Horse in a place where he cou'd receive no manner of Affiftance from them. The Fight began with equal fury on both fides. The Romans, tho' in diforder, advanced daringly, and charged the Enemies with their accustomed Valour. But as they fought with more fire than order, and the Volsci on the contrary drawn together in firm and close Battalions, defended themselves with great Courage, Fortune began to declare for the Side where there was most Discipline. The Volsci, led by an experienced General, press on briskly The Roman Soldier and break the Legions. furprised, instead of offending, thinks only how he may avoid the attack of the Enemy. They infenfibly give back, the Confusion encreases, and at last they lose ground apace. The Consul perceiving it, haftes where there is most danger. He fights with his own Hand, and tries to animate his Soldiers by his Example and Reproaches, but in vain. He calls and he threatens; no Body hears either his Voice or his Orders; and the Soldier terrified, shews that he fears nothing but the Enemy and Death. At length all the Legions fall entirely into Confusion and Diforder,

order, and the Battel had been quite loft if Sex. Tempanius, an old Captain of Horse, had not proposed to the other Officers of the same Body to dismount and throw themselves in the Front of the Legions to bear the shock of the E-

Sempronius, who, as we faid before, had flat-

nemy.

tered himself that he shou'd be able to defeat them only with his Foot, had left his Horse in a place hemm'd in with Bogs, where it was im-Val. Max. possible for them to fight. Tempanius perceiving 1. 3 c. 2. this fault, and the disorder the Legions were put Id.1.6.c.5. into, leap'd to the Ground with all his Comrades, and addressing himself to them; Follow my Lance, said he, as if it were a Standard; and let us shew the Enemy, that as well on Foot as on Horseback nothing can withstand us. That whole Body of Horse dismounted after his Example, and followed him. Tempanius, at the Head of this new Infantry, marches strait against the Enemy and restores the Fight; he pushes all that he The Legions at the fight of this Succour resume Courage, and the Battel is renew'd with fresh Fury. The General of the Volsci cou'd not conceive whence this new Body of Infantry shou'd come. But as he found himself press'd by them, he fent Orders to his Troops to open their Ranks, and give passage to the Body which Tempanius commanded; and then to close their Battalions again in order to separate those new Troops from the Legions. The Volsci, in execution of his Orders, give back, feem to retreat; divide, and give Passage to Tempanius and his Troop; who, carried on by the heat of their Courage, and imagining they were following Victory, and a routed Enemy, rushed still forwards.

But it was not long e'er they found that they were

cut

cut off from their Fellows by some of the Enemy's Battalions which were closed again, and had posted themselves between them and the Roman Army. Tempanius did his utmost to cut his way back thro' them and rejoin the Consul; but he cou'd not break their Order. In this extremity he spied an Eminence which he presently got possession of.

The Volsci, fancying it was impossible he shou'd escape them, immediately affail him. Tempanius defends himself with invincible Bravery; and this Diversion faves the Conful's Army. Legions, now more flackly press'd, rally again, return to the Charge, and the Conful at their Head strives with surprizing Valour to rescue and join Tempanius. The Volsci stand immoveable every where; and tho' they loft abundance of Men in this last Action, they chuse rather to be killed than to fly. None give ground; the living Soldier steps into the place of the dead, and defends it with the same Intrepidity: nor cou'd the Romans break fo strong a Bulwark, nor pierce one Battalion. They fought far into the Night, without either General's being able to perceive on which fide lay the Advantage, and nothing but Weariness and want of Light parted the two Armies.

Sempronius and the General of the Volsci, uncertain of the Success of the Battel, and both equally apprehensive of being obliged to renew the Fight again next Morning, left the Field of Battel as it were by consent; and not thinking themselves safe even in their Camp, retired with precipitation. After they had marched all Night each towards their own Country with equal Terror, they intrenched themselves with as much

hafte

hafte and care as if they had still been in fight of each other.

ir

2

W

30

Si

be

d

th

1

n

n

h

t

tl

Livy I. 4.

Tempanius, who doubted not but the Enemy wou'd attack him again as foon as ever the Darkness was dispelled, was very much surprised when at day-break he saw neither Friends nor Enemies. He cou'd not imagine what shou'd be become of two great Armies who, but a few Hours before, stretch'd over the whole Plain. He first sent out to view the Roman Camp, and then that of the Volsci. Not a Man was to be found in either, except a few wounded Persons that were not able to follow the main Body of the Army. Tempanius was desirous of being himfelf an Eyewitness of so strange an Event; and after having taken the necessary Precautions to fecure himself from being surprised, he visited the two Camps, and found in each an equal Solitude. Thence he went out to the Field of Battel, which offered nothing to his view but the dead and the dying, and that dismal Image which is left in such a Place the Day after a Battel. At length hearing no News of the Conful's Army, and fearing to be surrounded again by that of the Volsci, he took up the Roman Soldiers that were wounded, and with them refumed the way to Rome. He was received there with the greatest Joy and Surprise; he was given over for lost with all his Comrades. Some that fled and were got to Rome before him, and had feen him cut off from the Army and furrounded by the Enemy's, had not failed to give out that the whole Body of Horse was cut to pieces. The return of Tempanius and his Comrades dispersed those false Rumours. But the Tribunes of the People were resolved not to lose so favourable an opportunity of destroy-

ing the Conful. The People were actually afsembled when Tempanius arrived at Rome. They obliged him to appear in the Assembly before he set foot in his own House; and Cn. Julius, one of those Plebeian Magistrates, asked him aloud whether he thought Sempronius was fit to command the Armies of the Roman People : whether he had found in the last Engagement that he had disposed his Troops like an experienced General; what was become of him fince the Battel, and where the Army was that he commanded. I expect, added that Tribune, that you wou'd answer directly, and without any Evasions, to all these Particulars; inform us what is become of our Legions; whether they have abandoned you, or you deserted them; and lastly, whether we are Vanquished or Victors. Tempanius. without going about to make his own Advantage of Sempronius's Disgrace, answered the Tribune, that it did not become a private Officer to pretend to judge of the Capacity of his General; and that the People had given their Opinion of it when they chose him Consul. That he had seen him fight at the Head of the Legions with invincible Bravery, and that he expofed his own Person in all the places where there That the great distance bewas most Danger. tween them after their separation, and the confusion which always happens in so obstinate a Fight, had kept him from knowing every thing that passed where the Consul was engaged; but that he cou'd however assure them, by what had appeared to him in the Field of Battel, that the Volsci had not lost fewer Men than the Romans: and that as upon his separation from the main Body of the Legions, he had been so fortunate as to get possession of an Eminence, on which, notwithnotwithstanding all the Assaults of the Adversary, he had preserved those that were trusted to his Command; so he presumed the Consul, in that general disorder, had gained the Mountains, and there intrench'd himself. Tempanius then desired leave to retire, in order to get the Wounds dress'd which he had receiv'd in the Fight. The whole Assembly gave yet greater Praises to the Discretion and Modesty of his Answer, than to the Valour and good Conduct with which he had fought against the Enemies of his Country.

The People, in reward of his Services, chose him Tribune fome time afterwards, together with three other Officers that had diffinguished themfelves in the fame manner. In this Post he gave new Proofs of the Generofity of his Soul. For L. Hortenfius, one of his Colleagues, having cited Sempronius, after the Year of his Consulate was expired, to answer before the Assembly of the People for his Conduct in the last Battel, Tempanius and his three Colleagues resolutely undertook his Defence, and intreated Hortensius not to persecute a brave General, who had only been unfortunate upon this Occasion. But if I shew you, replyed Hortensius, that this Patrician, whose Valour you so highly praise, is the only Cause of our Defeat, will you oppose the Justice he deferves? Will you destroy the Power of the Tribune-(hip; and turn against the People themselves the very Authority which you hold only from their favour? Tempanins and his Colleagues answered him with great Moderation, that they owned the People had an absolute Power over all that bore the Name of Roman Citizens; that they paid the greatest Reverence to that Authority, and would never make a wrong use of the Trust which was reposed in them. But that if the Intreaties they made in their

W

cl

th

pu

to

CI

Year of Rome

their General's behalf were rejected by one of their Colleagues, they wou'd change their Habit like the Persona ccused, and share with their Captain either in his good or ill Fortune. Hortensius, struck with their Generosity, cried out he wou'd never confent that the Roman People shou'd see their Tribunes in mourning. drop'd his Impeachment, and declared he wou'd never prosecute a General, unfortunate indeed against the Enemy, but who had found means to make himself so dear and agreeable to his Soldiers and Fellow-Citizens. The Affection which four Tribunes of the People had shew'd to a Patrician, and Hortensius's compliance. feemed once more to have restored a Union between the Senate and the People. feem'd perfectly quiet; but this Concord lasted not long. In the Consulate of T. Quintius Ca-rear of pitolinus and Fabius Vibulanus, new Diffentions Rome arose with relation to the Quæstorship. Quæstors were Officers that had the care of the public Treasure; and the first Foundation of that Office is ascribed to P. Valerius Publicola. as we have already observed. That Patrician having thought it convenient that the public Treasure shou'd be kept in the Temple of Saturn, chose two Senators to take care of it, who were afterwards called Quæstors, and left the choice of them to the People.

The two Consuls above-mentioned being entered upon their Office, and finding that since the Conquests and Aggrandizement of the Republic, those two Officers were not sufficient to dispatch all their Business, proposed to encrease the number of them, and to add to the two first Quæstors who never stirred from Rome,

Dd

two.

two others who shou'd attend the Consuls and Generals in the Army, to keep an account of the Spoils of the Enemies, to fell the Booty, and above all, to take care of the Provisions and Subfiftance of the Army. The Senate and the People at first seemed equally to approve of this Proposal. But the People declaring that they wou'd have part in this new Dignity; the Senate, rather than share it with Plebeians, drop'd the design. The Tribunes, in revenge, renewed the Proposal of the Division of the Lands, the perpetual shift of those seditious Magistrates. After having inveighed with great Rage against the Senate, they declared they wou'd never give their consent to the Election of new Confuls, if the People were not allowed in the Election of Quæstors to give their Voices indifferently for Plebeians or Patricians. The Senate absolutely rejected this Condition; and the Obstinacy of the two Parties in holding to their Demands, threw the Republic into a kind of Anarchy. They were obliged to have recourse several times to an Inter-rex; a Dignity which was but for five Days. Nay, the Tribunes often opposed even his Election, for fear he shou'd nominate Consuls by his own Authority. At length L. Papirius Mugillanus, being Inter-rex, managed the Business so artfully, that he brought the Senate to confent to the chusing of Military Tribunes instead of Confuls, and that in the Election of the four Quæstors, as well as in that of those Military Tribunes, the People might give their Votes as they pleased, either to Patricians or Plebeians.

The

W

b

n

P

qu

The Assembly for the Election of Military Tribunes was held first; and notwithstanding all the Credit and Intrigues of the Tribunes of the People, four Patricians were chosen, namely, L. Quintius Cincinnatus, Sp. Furius Medul- Year of linus, M. Manlius, and A. Sempronius Atrati-Rome nus, Cousin to the Consul of the same name: 333. The latter was pitched upon to preside in the Election of Quæstors. Antistius, Tribune of the People, and Pompilius one of his Colleagues, put up the one his Son, the other his Brother, and demanded the Quæstorship for them. But in spite of all their Cabals, the Patricians alone carried that Dignity; and the People, tho' incensed by their feditious Harangues, had not power to deny it to Men whose Fathers and Ancestors had been honoured with the Consulship. The two Tribunes of the People, enraged almost to madness at this Preference, and the shame of a Refusal, cried out that it was impossible the People cou'd have had so little regard to the intreaty and recommendation of their own Magistrates. That there must infallibly have been some Deceit in the Scrutiny, and that A. Sempronius, who had gathered the Votes, ought to be called to an account for it. But as he was a Man of known Probity, and his Innocence and the Dignity with which he was then invested set him above their reach; they turned all their Indignation against C. Sempronius his Relation, whom we have spoken of before. They revived the Profecution against him for his ill Conduct in the last Battel, which Hortensius, at the request of Tempanius, had drop'd; and he was condemn'd at their Suit, and that of Canuleius, Rome another 333 Dd 2

t

f

r

ne

another Tribune of the People, to pay a fine of fifteen Thousand Pence. Their Fury was not satisfied with the Shame they thought to fix upon the whole body of the Senate, by this Consular. They continued to fill the City with Troubles and Divisions, either by hindering the Election of Consuls, or by reviving old Pretensions as the Seeds of new Commotions

Year of Rome 334.

> The next Year Sp. Mecilius fourth time Tribune of the People, and Metilius another Tribune of the People a third time, in order to perpetuate themselves in the Tribuneship, and get themselves a kind of Empire and Dominion for Life, renewed the Proposal of the Division of the Lands conquered from the Neighbours and Enemies of Rome. This was the common Bait with which the most seditious Tribunes used to lure the People. Rome, as we have said before, built upon a Foreign Ground depending originally upon the City of Alba, had scarce any Territory but what was won Sword in Hand. The Patricians, and those who had the greatest share in the Government, under pretence of renting parcels of it, had got into Possession of the rest, and of all that lay conveniently for them, and had made it a kind of Patrimony of their own: Long Proscription had concealed these Usurpations, and it had been no easie matter to discover the old Boundaries that separated what belong'd to the Public. from the Parcels let out to each particular Man. Yet the Tribunes were for dispossessing the old Proprietors, even tho' they had raifed Structures upon those Lands. An Enquiry so hateful flung the chief Families of the Republic into great Jon-

Year of Rome

Consternation. The Senate met several times to think of means to frustrate such dangerous Proposals. It is said, that Appius Claudius, tho' the youngest and last of the Senate, offered an Advice which was not disagreeable rear of to that Body: He said, that it was only in the Rome Tribuneship it self, that a relief from the Tri-336. bunes was to be found; that all they had to do was to gain over only one of those Plebeian Magistrates to hinder the ill designs of his Colleagues by his Opposition. That their way wou'd be to apply to the last of that College; that they being yet but new in business, and jealous of the Authority which Mecilius and Metilius took upon them, wou'd not be inflexible to the Senate's Careffes, and that perhaps they would gladly lend their Opposition, if only to shew their Power and make some figure in the Government.

This Advice was unanimously approved, and Appius was highly prais'd for having thus shewn that he did not degenerate from the virtue of his Ancestors. Those Senators who had any acquaintance with the Tribunes of the People, infinuate themselves into their confidence, and lay before them the confusion they must breed in the State, and in every private Family, if they ever entered upon making a Distinction between the Lands granted by Romulus, and those which had been conquered from the Neighbours of the Republic for almost four hundred Years, and had in different Ages fallen into the Hands of private Persons. the defign of a Law to make a perfect Equality in the Fortune of all the Citizens, wou'd destroy the Subordination so necessary in a

Dd 3 State

State; and that the Rich, whether Patricians or Plebeians, wou'd not so easily suffer themselves to be stript of the Estates they inherited from their Fore-fathers, or had honestly purchased of the lawful Owners, and that so unjust a search wou'd infallibly raise a Civil War, and perhaps cost the best Blood in the Commonwealth. In short, what with intreaties and remonstances they succeeded so well, that of the ten Tribunes they won over six who opposed the Promulgation of the Law.

Mecilius and his Colleague, enraged to meet with this Opposition in their own Tribunal and College, reproached their Colleagues as Traytors, Enemies to the People, and Slaves to the Senate. But spite of all these abuses, as the Opposition of but one Tribune was sufficient to stop the proceeding of the other Nine, and there were six that declared against the reception of the Law, Mecilius and his Colleague were forced to desist from this enter-

prize.

The Senate, by means of this Intelligence with the majority of the Tribunes, remained the Directors of Affairs the following Year also. L. Sextius, one of those Tribunes, in order to make his Court to the People, having proposed to send a Colony to Vola a little Town which they had lately taken, the other Tribunes opposed it strongly, and declared that during their Tribuneship they wou'd never suffer any new Law to be offered, that was not first approved of by the Senate.

But this good Understanding between the Senate and Tribunes lasted not long: The Suc-

Year of Rome

Year of Rome 338.

Successors of those Magistrates of the People soon afterwards resumed the Prosecution of the Division of the Lands, with even more

fury than Mecilius and his Colleague.

The Equi having surprized Vola, the Conduct of the War was given to M. Posthumius Regilensis who was then military Tribune: That General knew how to make War; but he was Stern, Haughty, proud of his Birth and Dignity, and carried that distinction too high in a Commonwealth, where all the Citizens reckoned themselves equal. That General laid Siege to Vola, or rather tried to take it immediately by Storm. The Romans in those Days but rarely made regular Sieges: Their way commonly was first to invest a place on all fides; then they led their Troops to the very Foot of the Walls, and by a general Attack, which divided the Attention and Forces of the befieged, they endeavoured to make themselves masters of the Place. Postbumius, before he led his Troops on to this way of Affault, which was called Corona, because the Town Year of was furrounded on all fides, promifed them for Rome their Encouragement, to give them the Plun- 339. der if they took it: The Town was won; c. 49. but Posthumius, who naturally hated the Ple-Zonaras. beians, or whom the greatest part of his Army ann. 2. confifted, broke his word with them, and fold c. 22. all for the Public Treasury.

Sextius, who had so much Interest as to get continued in the Tribuneship this Year also, proposed some time afterwards in a full Assembly, that to make the People amends from the Military Tribune's Breach of promise, a Colony shou'd at least be settled in that Place of those

Dd 4 who

who by their Valour had contributed to the retaking of it; and he demanded that the Plebiscitum to be made for this purpose shou'd grant those Soldiers the whole Territory of Vola. To intimidate the Senate, and so make this Proposal pass the more easily, he at the same time renewed the old Pretensions of the Division of the Lands, which the Tribunes never failed to trump up, when they had a mind to make the Senate uneasie, or extort some

new Privilege from them.

All the People applauded this Proposal. Posthumius, whom the Senate had commissioned to view the Condition of the place, happening to be with the other Senators in that Affembly, where he faw many of his own Soldiers mingled in the Crowd, and demanding this Partition with great Clamours: We be to my folks, cried Posthumius aloud, if they do not hold their Peace. So proud a Saying, tho' in the Mouth of a General, offended the Senate no less than the Multitude: Sextius, bold and eloquent, took Advantage of the general displeasure, and directing his Speech to the People: " Did you not " hear, faid he, the Threats which Posthumius ec gave our Soldiers, as if they were his "Slaves? Can you after this doubt the Ha-" tred and Contempt which the Patricians have for you? And yet these insolent and cruel " Patricians are the Men you always prefer in " the distribution of Dignities, even to those who are daily defending your Privileges. "Do not wonder if after so ungrateful a " preference no body will give himself the " trouble to take care of them. What can any body expect from a weak inconstant?

66 Mul-

"Multitude, who reward none but those who

"infult them the most intolerably?

This Discourse enslamed the public Animosity, which together with Posthumius's threats ran to his very Army. The Soldiers were already but too much sincensed at his having deprived them of the Plunder of Vola, contrary to his Promise; they no sooner heard what had passed in the Forum, but they cried, that the Republic was sostering a Tyrant in her Bosom; and the whole Army was in a Commotion little

different from an open Sedition.

P. Sextius Quæstor having in his General's absence gone about to arrest one Soldier who was more mutinous than the rest, received a blow with a Stone from him, and his Comrades rescued him out of the Hands of those that had laid hold of him. Posthumius informed of this Tumult hastens to the Camp; but he exasperated the Soldiers more than ever by the Strictness of his Searches, and the Cruelty of his Punishments. After very rigorous Inquiries, he commanded the most guilty of the Soldiers to be put to Death under the Hurdle; their Comrades furiously tear them from those who had feized them, and fet them at Liberty: These are new Leaders for the Sedition: the whole Camp rises. Posthumius, transported with Anger, comes down from his Tribunal, and preceded by his Lictors breaks thro' the Press, and goes to lay Hands on the Criminals; Livy 1. 4. but he finds no Respect left to his Person, nor c. 50. Obedience to his Orders; Force is opposed Flor. 1. with Force, both fides come to blows, and Year of in this disorder the General is slain by his own Rome Soldiers:

How-

Year of

Rome

340.

The History of the Revolutions

However odious Postbumius had been, the People as well as the Senate abhorred so black an Action, and the Consulate falling to Cornelius and L. Furius Medullinus, those Magistrates were appointed to try the Criminals, and to inflict an exemplary Punishment upon them. The Consuls however shewed great Moderation in this Affair; and, to avoid exasperating the Spirits of the People, punished only a small number of the most Mutinous; who killed themselves. Those wise Magis

Livy 1. 4. strates thought it more prudent to suppose the Army in general to be Innocent, than to drive them into an open Revolt by too rigorous an

Examination.

It had been happy if the Senate and Confuls had, to so prudent a Management, added the Partition of the Territory of Vola among such Soldiers and Citizens as had remained in

their Duty.

That had been the furest way to have silenced all the factious Complaints of the Tribunes of the People, and to have infentibly taken off their Claims upon the Public Lands and Commons, which after all it was almost impossible for the Proprietors to justifie their Title to. But the People saw with Indignation, that the private Defign of the Senate and Nobility was to keep them always in Poverty, as well for the fake of their own Interest, as to make them more fubmissive and dependent. And the Tribunes, to feed their Resentment, were perpetually declaring in all the Assemblies that Rome wou'd never be free while the Patricians kept the Public Lands, and usurped all the Dignities of the State to themselves.

Almost

fre Bi

an

fir

N Fa wa of ve ob Co ple

> tit th du w all lic

ftc bu lin we of

ty

it

thTfh

lit

Almost continued Wars against the Aqui and Volsci; the Plague which succeeded this first Calamity, and which produced a Famine, took the People off during the following Years from giving Ear to those seditious Discourses. But Peace and Plenty were no fooner restored to the Commonwealth; but other Tribunes created new Diffentions.

Three of those Plebeian Magistrates, of the Name of Icilius, all three Kinsmen, and of a Year of Family in which a Hatred of the Patricians Rome was hereditary, undertook to deprive them sp Icilius. of the Quæstorship, which till then had ne-C. Icilius. ver been out of the first Order: They first L. Icilius: obtained to have the Election brought into the Comitia of Tribes. After having fed the People with hopes of fine Colonies, and the Partition of the Lands, they publickly declared, that they must expect none of those Benefits during their Tribuneship, if of all the Dignities which by right ought to be common among all the Citizens of one and the same Republic, they cou'd not at least obtain the Quæstorship. The People animated by their Tribunes gave their Votes to Q. Silius, P. Ælius and P. Papius, all three Plebeians, who Livyl. 4.54 were the first Quæstors of that Order; and Id.1.6. of the Patricians that put up for that Dignity, none but C. Fabius Ambustus cou'd obtain

The Tribunes of the People look'd upon this as a Victory gained over the Nobility. They flattered themselves that the Quæstorship wou'd now open them a way to the Military Tribuneship, the Consulate and the Triumph. The Icilians cried publickly, that the

398

time was at length come when the Honours of the Republic shou'd be shared equally among the People and the Patricians. In the next Election, they wou'd not even so much as hear of the Confulship, only because that Dignity was yet reserved to the Nobles and Patricians: The Senate were forced to confent to the choice of Military Tribunes, who indeed had the same Power as the Consuls, but whose Dignity was more agreeable to the People, because themselves were allowed to put up for it. The Icilians particularly aspired to it openly. The Senate, alarmed at their ambitious Defigns, published two Laws which entirely shut them out; the first contained, that no Plebeian shou'd stand for the Military Tribuneship, when he had the same Year had the Office of Tribune of the People; the other, that no Tribune of the People shou'd be continued two Years together in the same Employment.

Men the Senate aimed at; they lost all hopes of arriving at that first Office in the Commonwealth, and when they had lost it themselves, they seemed indifferent whether any other Plebeian obtained it or no. Perhaps they wou'd even have been mortisted to have seen that great Dignity in any other Plebeian Family before their own had been honour'd with it. Be it as it will, no considerable Plebeian appear'd as a Candidate; and the Senate had the cunning to get some of the most wretched of the Populace to stand, at the same time

that they asked that Office for Senators and

The Icilians plainly faw they alone were the

Patricians illustrious for their Valour.

Year of Rome 344. e

r

C

d

r

t

n

n

e

S

e

S

y

d

e

C

The People, disgusted with the Meanness-of the Pretenders of their own Order, gave all their Voices to the Nobility; and C. Julius Year of Iulus, Com Cossus, and C. Servilius Abala were Rome declared Military Tribunes; but they did not 345. long enjoy that Sovereign Dignity. The Volsci having set on Foot a powerful Army, the Senate according to cultom resolved to send a Dictator against them. As the absolute Authority of that Magistrate in a manner absorbed the Power of all the inferior Officers, 'Julius and Cornelius Military Tribunes opposed his Election, and represented that they found in themselves sufficient Courage and Experience to command an Army, and that it was unjust to deprive them of a Dignity which they had so lately obtained by all the Votes of their Fellow-Citizens.

The Senate, exasperated at their Opposition, and refusal to name a Dictator, had recourse to the Tribunes of the People, as they had done before upon the like occasion. But the Tribunes of this Year observed a different Conduct from their Predecessors; and tho' they were overjoyed to see this Dissention between the Military Tribunes and the Senate, they anfwered with a fcornful Raillery, that it was a shame for so powerful a Body to implore the Aid of beggarly Plebeians, and of Men whom the Nobility scarce thought worthy to be reckoned their Fellow-Citizens; that if ever the Honours of the Republic were common among all the Romans, without Distinction of Birth or Wealth, then the People and their Magistrates shou'd know how to force a Respect to the Senate's Decrees; but that till then they wou'd have no Hand in the different Pretentions of the Senate and the Military Tribunes.

These Contests drawing to no end, and the Enemies still advancing towards the Frontier, Servilius Ahala the third Military Tribune declared publickly, that the good of his Country was more dear to him than the Friendship of his Colleagues, and that if they wou'd not fairly consent to chuse a Dictator, he wou'd take upon him to name one himself: And accordingly being supported by the Authority of the whole Senate, he named for Dictator P. Cornelius, who afterwards chose him himself for

Livy 1. 4. Cornelius, who afterwards chose him himself for

56, 57. General of the Horse.

The War was not of long continuance; the Volsci were descated near the City of Antium; their Territory was plundered, and a great Number of Prisoners taken. After this Expedition the Dictator laid down his Post; but the two Tribunes, discontented with the Senate for having deprived them of the Glory they hoped to have acquired in this War, instead of proposing the Election of Consuls for the ensuing Year, only demanded Military Tribunes, as the most zealeus Tribune of the People wou'd have done.

The Senate, who were always fearful that the People wou'd at length be brought to give that Dignity, either to their own Tribunes or to some of the principal *Plebeians*, were touched to the quick, to see their Interests betrayed even by those of their own Order. But as it was not in their Power to annul the Publication of the Assembly made by the Magistrates of the Republic, they obliged

the chief of their own Body, and such as were most agreeable to the People for their Moderation and Valour, to demand the Tribuneship. And notwithstanding all the Brigues Rome of the Plebeian Tribunes, none but Patricians 346. were chosen for Military Tribunes, and C. Diodor. Valerius, C. Servilius, L. Furius and Fabius 1. 14. Vibulanus were raised to that high Office.

e

y

of

ot

d

of

2.

or

;

2-

a

is

ie

y

1-

r

i-

)-

at

1-

s,

1-

n

1-

y

d

ıc

The Senate kept the same advantage the following Year, and were again powerful enough in the Election to procure the same Post for P. Cornelius, L. Valerius. C. Cornelius rear of and Fabius Ambustus, all Patricians, and of the Rome best Families in the Commonwealth.

It is impossible to express the Rage and Fury that the Tribunes of the People shew'd at feeing themselves so long excluded from an Honour, to which they were capable of being admitted. They took the opportunity of a new War, which the Senate wanted to make against the Veientes, to wreak their Revenge. The Inhabitants of Veii had carried off some Booty without any previous Declaration of War. Ambassadors had been sent to demand Satisfaction for this Infult; but instead of excusing or justifying their Incursions, they drove away those Ambassadors with Contempt. The Senate yet more provoked at this infolent Behaviour than at their Robberies, proposed it to the People to revenge this Injury, and to carry their Arms into Tuscany. The People, poisoned by their Tribunes, shewed a very great indifference for this Proposal. They said it was not prudent to engage in a new War, while that of the Volsci was not yet terminated; that the Commonwealth had not Forces enow

enow to withstand two such warlike Nations at the same time; that not a Year pass'd without their fighting some Battel; that these frequent Engagements exhausted the purest Blood of Rome, and cut off all their Youth: Neither did the Plebeians, who filled the Legions, draw the least Advantage from these continual Wars.

The Tribunes, on their fide, cried in all the Assemblies, that the Senate perpetuated the War only to keep the Plebeians out of the City, for fear, if they were at Rome, they shou'd revive the just Pretensions they had to the publick Lands, or by the numerousness of their Suffrages raise their Tribunes to the chief Dignities in the Republic. "And in short, "faid those seditious Magistrates to them, you need seek your real Enemies no where but in Rome. The greatest War you have to maintain, is that which the Senate has so long

" carried on against the Roman People.

The Senate finding so much repugnance in the People's Minds to the War with the Veientes, thought it proper to wait a more favourable opportunity; and in order to regain the Confidence of the Multitude, and remove the Complaints they made against the length of the Wars, they resolved to provide for the Subsistance of the Soldier in such a manner, that he shou'd not be at all obliged for it to the Tribunes. All the Roman Citizens, till then, used to go to the War at their own Expence; every Man was forced, out of his own little Inheritance, to maintain himself as well during the Campaign as in Winter Quarters; and oftentimes when the Campaign was

too long, the Lands, especially those of the poor: Plebeians, lay fallow. This occasioned Borrowing, Usury multiplied by Interests, and then the Complaints and Seditions of the People. The Senate, to prevent these Disorders, decreed of themselves, and without being importuned by the Tribunes, that for the tuture the Soldiers shou'd be paid out of the public Money; and that to surnish this Expence, a new Tax shou'd be raised, from which no Citizen whatsoever shou'd be exempted.

Upon the first News of this Senatusconsultum Year of the People were transported with Joy; they ran Rome from all parts to the Gate of the Palace. Some 347-kissed the Hands of the Senators, others call-livy l. 4. cd them the Fathers of the People, and all pro-Biod, l. 4. tested they were ready to spill the very last drop of their Blood for their Country, which

they now looked upon as a Mother liberal and generous to all her Children.

d

1

i

r

In this universal Gladness, the Tribunes of the People were remarkable for their fullen and envious Countenances. The Union of all the Orders hindered them from making themfelves confiderable. As they never shone more than in the Divisions of the State, they gave out that the Senate bestowed Largesses at a very cheap rate; that the People must be very blind if they did not perceive that this their Pay wou'd come out of their own Pockets; nay, that it was not just for those who till then had been at the Wars at their own Charge, and had compleated the time of their Service, to be taxed to pay the new Soldiers that fucceeded them in the Armies; that for their parts they were firmly resolved never to pay this Еe

new Imposition; and that they offered their Service, and the whole Authority which their Office gave them, to defend those who wou'd

follow their Example.

They hoped by means of the Power they had over the Minds of the People to get them to-reject this Favour, which was odious to them, only because it came from the Senate. But a certain and immediate Benefit, and especially the Example of the chief Men among them, who readily paid their Contingents, prevailed above all the seditious Harangues of the Tri-The Senatusconsultum was ratified by a Plebiscitum, and the general consent of the People. Every Man ran eagerly to pay a flight Tribute proportion'd to his Estate, which was to bring him in a confiderable Advantage in return. As there were in those Days but little coined Mony, Carts loaden with Brass were every Day seen going to the Treasury with the Contributions of private Men, which the Treasurers received by weight.

24 OC 62

End of the Sixth Book and First Volume.

Year of Rome 347.

Errata in the First Volume.

r

yn, ay, di-yetsne---

pa.	line	Faults	Corrections
4	21	Treasurers	two Treasurers
ib.	33	Divinities	Deities
5	22	forbid	decreed
	I	three	thirty
18	II	contest	conquest
ib.	29	fell into this celebrated Duel	fell in this celebrated Duel
27	11	actually	artfully
29	22	Divines	Diviners
40	29	Nations	Neighbours
59	35	Gate	Gates
62	22	necessary retreat	forc'd retreat
78	15	he alone	It alone
87	19	folemn arguments	folid arguments
163	29	with the Expence	for the Expence
184	37	where	whereas
187	1	been Centurion	been a Centurion
211	19	Amilius was for	Amilius, in order to make his court to the People, was for
255	17	Tribunes	Tribune
277	30	ten Oxen	two Oxen
348	15	peevifh	four
399	4	Com. Coffus	Corn. Coffus